

The  
South Atlantic Quarterly.

The Task of the Critic.

In the April, 1904, issue of THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY there was published an article on "Some Difficulties of the History Teacher in the South," by Dr. W. E. Dodd, of Randolph-Macon College. This article contained some rather uncomplimentary statements about the character of history teaching in the South and about the attitude of public opinion toward unbiased and scientific historical research. As was to be expected it brought forth an expression of dissent from some of the ablest and most patriotic of the Southern editors and from other people. It was said by them that the statements were not true and that the gentleman who made them spoke from unworthy motives. He was pronounced a traitor to the South and a flatterer of those who are not in sympathy with the section in which he lives.

It is not the writer's purpose to defend Professor Dodd's views or to controvert those of the gentlemen who do not agree with him. As a history teacher himself he might say that his own experiences in North Carolina have not been the same in all respects as those of the Virginia professor; although he does not doubt that gentleman has related correctly what has come under his own observation. It is of more importance to consider this incident as a text for a consideration of the value and function of criticism among an intelligent and progressive people. It is worth while for us to know and to remember continually that unconventional thinking has a place among intelligent men, that it has existed from the beginning of recorded history, and that the warfare—perfectly natural as it is—which it has waged with conservatism has ever been a vital element of human progress. The text to which reference has been made has, in fact, a lesson for the critic himself as well as for those against whom he aims his shafts.

Conservative thought is the product of the things which are. It is an outgrowth of society's own self-consciousness. It is the defence which the existing social forces make in behalf of their own conditions and of their own purposes. It must be honest with those who created it. If it were lax or perverted it would be disloyal to its parentage. In striving to perpetuate its own ideals it but asserts its own integrity and proves its worthiness to test thoroughly the invasion of new, and in a certain sense, hostile ideals. It is one of the safeguards of society.

The critic stands for change. He is dissatisfied with some of the things which he sees around him. He cannot believe that these things are right or advantageous, and believing this he cannot, without violating the sacred function of his own conscience, refrain from uttering his thoughts. He may have an unconventional mind; he may not be able to think otherwise than he does think. He may seem to think erroneously. He may be a man of education who has run far ahead of the actual state of thought in his community. He may, also, be a wise man. How is he to know what he is? He is responsible only for consistency with himself. It is his talent and not another's that he must employ. Woe betide him if he is afraid and puts it away in a napkin!

The critic is born to wage war on the conservative. He is a tester of conservatism, putting it to a defence of itself. He watches for its weak places and strikes through them as skilfully as he can. He lops off the excrescences which conservatism breeds on the body of society. He gives the exercise to the minds of the masses which serves to awaken them from lethargy. He stimulates and serves society, even though he may at times go farther than it seems prudent to go.

It is not to be denied that both conservatism and criticism abuse their functions at times. Conservatism summons prejudice to its aid all too frequently. It acts on the masses of people whose power of abstract reasoning is limited. It appeals to their feelings with greater effect than to their logical faculties. It flatters them by assuring them that all that exists is right. It does not hesitate to draw religion to its support, telling the people that God has ordained the things which are. More than this, the defenders of conservatism turn on the critic in furious personal

attacks. They denounce his motives; they pronounce him a traitor to his people; they refuse to see that he is actuated by a desire to benefit anybody but himself; they find a hundred selfish objects which they suppose have caused him to speak; they call him insulting names; they usually declare him an incendiary; and they heap opprobrium upon him till he is impelled either to retract his views or to close his mouth in sheer helplessness. When conservatism goes to the extent of any or all of these extremes it becomes a painful clog on the progress of thought. But these abuses have always existed. They grow out of human nature. It will be many a weary year and perhaps after many a heart-rending contest before controversy over social reforms shall cease to be personal.

The critic also is liable to fall into wrong-doing. He is not always absolutely accurate. In the warmth of his own conviction he may exaggerate the extent of the evils which he seeks to remedy. Sometimes he does this with deliberate purpose; because he knows that if he states his cause mildly with full attention to all alleviating circumstances it will not impress the public mind. Sometimes he speaks when he has not thoroughly mastered the facts of the case. Sometimes he is carried away by the enthusiasm of battle to rush against lines which he would not in his quieter moments essay to storm. Sometimes he, also, makes personal attacks on his opponents and pours out bitterness where he ought instead to make demonstrations of love. Perhaps the only perfect critic the world has seen was Christ. Against his attacks on error it is not possible to allege that he contended in a wrongful manner. But inferior men, even men so great as Luther and Calvin, sometimes lose patience with the men whose errors they are opposing.

The warfare of criticism on conservatism is as continuous as it is natural. It began when men began to be conscious of themselves. It has been fought with more barbarity in the past than it is being fought in the present; although the torture which it inflicts on its subjects is perhaps not less acute through the refinement of its methods. It will go on till men cease to possess individuality. When one error has been defeated another will be attacked. When a critic has been through one conflict he will prepare his armor for another, not in the vain-glory of mere

contest, but in the consciousness of his responsibility to truth. When one challenger of conservatism shall have been silenced another will appear to take his place. The warfare is as permanent as the human mind.

To many good people this is a regrettable affair. They love peace. They deplore agitation. They fear to start discussion, lest it make people angry. Anger, no doubt, is not a virtue; but it may be the beginning of good. Far worse than an excited controversy is a dwarfed and palsied public conscience which cannot be stimulated into action. The two opposing forces will come into violent conflict now and again, and men will breathe hurriedly or pray for peace while the battle is on. But let not the good citizen despair. The forces of life are continuous and the clash of arms will not break them or permanently divert them from the evolution of higher ideals. Our chief function is living and live we will till death removes us to make room for other men. When the conflict is over life will go on, as it must go on, and the results of the striving, be they good or bad, will have an orderly fulfilment.

The critic is not without his own peculiar internal perils. He is apt to take his own criticism very seriously. He may fancy that too much depends on his own assertions. He may believe so earnestly in his own views that he will give them too prominent a place, not in his utterances necessarily, but in his own internal consciousness. He may thus allow himself to fret over their non-acceptance till the poise of his character is destroyed and the directness of his own thinking is impaired. Particularly, he may take too much to heart the opposition which he receives. He may allow it to pervert his own sweetness of soul. Men will always find in their untutored natures a disposition to hate those who hate them. But the true critic—he who is loyal to truth—will not hate at all. He will keep personalities out of sight. He will keep his own eye steadily on the single object of finding the truth of things. He will not be too confident of his own conclusions any more than he will be willing tamely to desert them. He will be courteous, patient, persistent, charitable, self-balanced, and good-natured.

To return to our text, Professor Dodd's criticism ought to be received as a fortunate affair. True or untrue, we ought to



realize that it is a proposition which concerns Southern men of intellect and one which may be debated with great profit. That there should be in the South a man who can state the proposition caustically and arouse discussion upon it ought to be considered a favorable omen of intellectual progress. This Southern country belongs to us who live in it. It is ours to improve; and as we improve it, so we measure our own greatness or our own littleness. Shall we of all people be those among whom self-examination and self-criticism shall have no place?

Rail as we may, we cannot avoid our critics. We may hoot them down, we may conjure up laws of nature to confound them, we may make the nerves of their loved ones tingle with the twisting of our torture strings; but do what we can they will live, and think, and speak. They are Southerners as well as other people. They are men, also, responsible to that same conscience to which those who are appalled at their criticism are responsible. They know the numbing effect on intellectual integrity of continually cringing before the dominion of adverse public opinion. They reject at times the efficacy of the dictum, "It is true but you must not say so." They demand and they will have the liberty of speaking what they think as freely as the laws of proper truth-seeking may suggest. Such men have always existed in the South and they will always exist there. No unification of public opinion can destroy them.

## A Plea for Light

BY CARL KELSEY

One of the most striking anomalies in American life arises from the presence of the negro—an anomaly because of his totally unlike ancestry, native land and climate, social institutions, and the causes of his migration, not to mention his color, the most superficial of all the differences. He came unwillingly at our behest; he remains willingly with or without our consent. For nearly three hundred years he has been one of the great storm centers of our social system and bids fair to be such for another three hundred. Because of his presence two economic systems were in contest until 1865. Since that date his presence has hindered the natural political development of a great section of our country—save for official purposes.

To a stranger from another world it would appear as a matter of course that those who had to deal with the problems created by this strange element would know all that could be known about the negro. The visitor would expect to find the most careful descriptions of the negro in his aboriginal home, of his social and economic institutions, of the soil and climate, of his daily life, of the different tribes and their relative advancement, of everything in fact necessary to enable us to understand the black man. What would he find? Not a single first hand study made by an American (save the travels of DuChaillu—while we can scarcely claim Stanley) and only one fairly good second-hand study based on the investigations of Europeans,—made only two years ago. Worse than this,—it is difficult to discover in the manifold articles, books, theses which have been written any evidence that such information was valued or desired. What a record! Evidently the sentiment that a "nigger is a nigger" has not been confined to the South. If the visitor asks for accounts of the conditions prevailing during slavery times in the South what can we show him save a few volumes such as those of Olmsted and Fanny Kemble? If "Uncle Tom's Cabin" be exaggerated and unfair is "The Leopard's Spots" any more trustworthy? We could offer unlimited numbers of dissertations to prove the divine

or satanic origin of the peculiar institution, to show by quaint and curious interpretations of the Bible the degraded position of the black in God's economy. Would these be satisfactory? We have one good study of the slave trade and many historical accounts from legal standpoints of the negro in various states. Where shall we look for candid, uncolored statements of what really happened day by day, we—and our number is growing—who cannot get this knowledge from oral tradition? If information of more recent times is requested, accounts of failure as well as success, do we not find again that in the vast majority of cases we have to do with the brief of the special pleader? Paradoxical as it may seem—seven-eighths of the people of the United States have but the vaguest and most confused ideas of how the other eighth lives. The number of concrete local investigations written to display the facts of the negro's life, not to prove theories, can be counted almost on one's fingers. Do we realize that 9,000,000 people are involved? Is it any wonder that those of us who do not have an intimate acquaintance with the negroes of one locality to steady our judgment are hopelessly confused by the medley of reports which come to us?

The belief is steadily growing that statements true of one locality are not necessarily true of a dozen States, nor will those true of a small group be equally accurate when applied to a million people. A little investigation seems to prove that geography must be called into service. For instance let us glance at the State of Georgia whose negro population is larger than that of any other State (1,034,813 in 1900 or 46.7 per cent. of the total—the percentage in 1860 was 45.5 per cent). In the accompanying maps the negro population a square mile and the relative density of the two races are both given while the geological divisions of the State are indicated.



## GEORGIA.

Negro Percentage of Total Population, 1900.

Total Whites in State.....1,181,294

Total Negroes in State.....1,034,813

2,216,107

Negroes form 46.7 per cent. of total population.

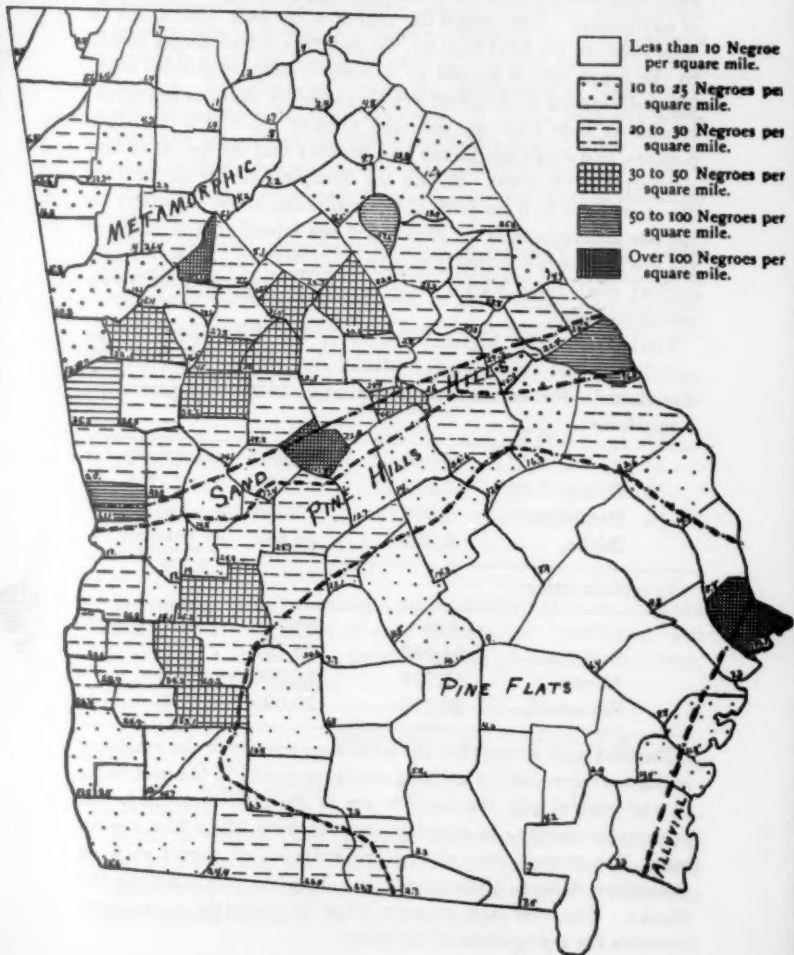
## GEORGIA.

Negroes Per Square Mile, 1900.

Square Miles in State.....58,980

Average Negroes per Square Mile.....17.6

Average Whites per Square Mile.....19.9



These geological divisions are quite distinct. In the north is found the hill country gradually falling to the south and east. The rocks, granite, etc., have been changed in form so are called metaphoric. At the edge of this district lies a narrow belt of sand hills which marks the fall line of the rivers and thus the head of navigation. Then comes the region of the pine hills which in time yields to the level country, the pine flats, which slopes gently to the ocean and is fringed by a narrow strip of alluvial land. These differences in structure are paralleled by changes in vegetation as we pass from the common trees of the north, the oaks, poplars, and chestnuts, to the pine country and the live oaks and palmettos of the coast. So too the character of the agriculture changes as we go from fields of grain through those of cotton to the rice plantations, truck farms and sea island cotton areas of the lowlands while industry is equally diversified. It seems self-evident that these varied sections afford opportunities by no means identical.

Similar contrasts logically follow in the distribution of the population and evidently the blacks and whites are unevenly distributed. For instance we note that in 1900 there were these inequalities:

County.	Whites.	Negroes.	Negro Percentage
Gilmer,	10,121	77	.7
Randolph,	5,550	5,545	50.
Burke,	5,522	24,643	81.

In certain cities:

City.	Whites.	Negroes.	Negro Percentage.
Atlanta,	54,090	35,727	39.
Macon,	11,711	11,550	49.
Savannah,	26,109	28,090	51.

The first map shows that the whites are greatly in the majority in the northern district and in a smaller majority in the pine flats. In the central belt the negroes are in the great majority, the population ranging in country counties from 16 to 35 a square mile. The second map shows the influence of towns such as Columbus, Macon, Milledgeville and Augusta in attracting the blacks. Whatever the reasons there is evidently a tendency towards the segregation of the races.

Closer examination discloses other equally interesting phenomena. During the decade from 1890 to 1900 in the black district there was an actual decrease of whites in eighteen counties while in the remaining country counties of the same district the white increase was less than one a square mile. In the pine flats on the other hand the white increase was from three to ten a square mile, varying in different counties. In the northern part of the State the blacks actually decreased in twelve counties. What are the causes, and what the significance of these movements of population? Why in Dougherty county with 631 white children of school age (in 1902) and 3,364 negro children do we find 1,528 (forty-five per cent) of the black children in the western part of the county and only fourteen (two per cent) of the white children?

There are also some facts relating to illiteracy which await explanation. The percentage of illiterate negro males in the State twenty-one years of age and over is 56.4, which may be compared with Virginia, 52.5, and Louisiana, 61.3. Note however the local differences:

Region.	No. Counties.	Total Adult Negro Males.	Illiterate.	Percentage.
Coast,	5	17,138	7,058	41
Pine Flats,	22	29,078	15,313	51
Pine Hills,	22	47,174	29,269	62
Metamorphic,	25	48,236	30,919	64
(Counties with Negroes in Majority.)				

Are these varying percentages purely accidental or are they the result of underlying forces of vast significance? The writer will not attempt to answer but he notes similar phenomena elsewhere. Take Virginia for instance.

Region.	No. Counties Blacks in Majority.	Percentage of Illiterates
Coast,	8	55
Metamorphic,	14	61

Equal differences exist in other States. Can we account for them on the ground that the public school system has been more rapidly introduced in some sections, or have greater economic opportunities attracted the better informed?

Yet another series of contrasts may be found by comparing conditions prevailing in some of the cities. Atlanta and Savannah are often cited and the contrasts in the condition of the negroes are noticeable. For instance the adult males in Atlanta have a rate of illiteracy of 39 per cent. against 30 per cent. in Savannah and 28 per cent. in Charleston. The war and the years following brought great losses to the negroes in this last city as well as to the whites. I am told that in 1860 the free colored people held taxable property valued at \$1,000,000 and paid some \$12,000 yearly in taxes, a few individuals possessing nearly \$30,000 each. The highest valuation today is about \$6,000. Charleston is vaunted as an old city. Does this account for the fact that Southern white women have always taught in the schools for negroes—as is true also of New Orleans—while this would involve immediate ostracism in Atlanta and in many other places?

So too as regards crime, it is possible to find counties in the South from which but a half dozen negroes have been sent to prison in ten years—densely populated counties too—and in which the local jail stands empty most of the time. In other counties the record is sadly different. There are districts in which a liason between a white man and negress is not tolerated, while in others it is the established order of the day. Districts in which the negro women no longer work in the fields, nor cook in fireplaces, nor put on the table an unvarying diet of cornbread and bacon, and other districts where these things are all but universal.

Yet, after all, in citing these contrasts are we not dealing largely with surface indications of the great natural forces underneath? If we should pass from the Georgia seashore where the negro farmers cultivate ten acres of land depending largely upon the sea island cotton and drawing advances of perhaps \$35.00 a year to the rice plantations where the negro gets wages in cash for daily toil, to the vast short staple cotton plantations, on to the region of smaller farms where, says common belief whether truly or not, the contact with the white farmer stimulates the black we go from one economic sphere to another, on to the great city with its demand for, and wealth of, unskilled labor. Should anyone expect equality of opportunity, equality of conditions, identity of attainment, or equal speed in attaining? If this be true in the



one commonwealth of Georgia how much more true must it be of the South as a whole?

In this hasty, crude fashion attention has been called to five assumptions, some or all of which have been taken for granted in nearly all discussions relative to the negro. These assumptions are:

1. The substantial equality of the African negro stocks.
2. The most of the traits of the American negroes were formed in slavery.
3. The practical equality of negroes and mulattoes.
4. That the various sections of the South offer equal opportunities.
5. That fairly uniform changes (or progress if you prefer) are taking place.

At the risk perhaps of appearing dogmatic I must assert that these assumptions are not only unwarranted from any evidence at hand but are contrary to many well established facts. If we are really to get anywhere in our discussion we must stop the practice of loose generalizations and base our statements upon definite existing conditions. In a word what is needed are facts. When these are gotten generalization is permissible.

For a generation there has been a gradual and steady development in Southern life which whether we are conscious of it or not has called into prominence a new social class whose traditions, interests, ideals are radically different from those of the planters who typify the old regime. These new strong men have never dealt with the negro enough to understand and make allowance for his failings or to recognize his good qualities. In this respect they contrast strongly with the planters. Hitherto the bugbear of "social equality" and "negro domination" have been the instruments of the demagogues to prevent a break in the old political solidarity. I mention this merely to indicate how the situation (economic and political) ever since the war has caused the development of jealousy, race hatred, sectionalism, and all other conditions under which demagogues grow and prosper. It is needless to say that the demagogues have taken full advantage of these golden opportunities and, aided by newspapers, the facts have been so twisted and distorted that the average man has a confused idea that there is a negro problem, and little else. To

one it is insoluble because he sees only the difficulties of the situation, to another it seems simple because he ignores these difficulties. To my mind the time has come when this field is not to be tilled by the demagogues alone. Thoughtful men and women in all parts of the country are no longer satisfied with such information but are demanding honest, intelligent, candid statements of facts.

"Man," says Bagehot, "unlike the lower animals has had to be his own domesticator." Just now there is in our country a wonderful opportunity to study one chapter in this process in the adjustment taking place between two of earth's most widely separated races—separated socially and physically. If we of today had but the foresight to photograph this process future generations would rise and call us blessed. The trouble is, of course, that it is extremely hard for us to take a purely judicial attitude when we are directly involved in all that happens. Yet until we can at least approximate this attitude we must grope in the darkness of prejudice and passion wondering what to do. We often say that ignorance is not a cure for anything. If this be true then is there not need of some light on many questions relative to the negro? Let me suggest a few of these which anyone entering a new community would naturally ask.

1. What is the present situation of the negro farmer? Is he becoming a land owner? What influence does this have? What is the effect of the crop lien system? What forces are driving him from the farm?

2. What can the casual laborer in the town earn? Are the negroes becoming skilled laborers?

3. What is the effect of education? Is the educated negro more efficient? Is he less criminal? Can any difference be noted between the graduates of the industrial schools and those from institutions of "higher education?"

4. Is the influence of the church helpful? Is the moral character of the ministers improving?

5. Is race antagonism increasing? Is race intermixture increasing or diminishing? Have mulattoes advanced or retrograded relatively faster than the blacks?

The questions might be increased indefinitely but these indicate the great range of topics upon which more reliable information is needed.

It is evident that great changes have taken place within a generation. Just what these changes are, their causes and their extent, are matters of considerable importance. Their importance is greatly increased because of certain other changes which are introducing a new epoch. Among the indications of this new era may be mentioned

1. The growing belief at the North that wholesale enfranchisement was a mistake.
2. Recognition of the importance of industrial education.
3. The steady disappearance of sectionalism and the growth of understanding and coöperation between North and South.
4. The development of the South, putting power into the hands of a new class and thus bringing into new prominence matters relative to the negro.

Henceforth we are to deal with the negro not as Southerners or Northerners but Americans. In recent years I have had an opportunity to see some phases of the situation in a few places. It is a pleasure to record that in every way the Southern whites have sought to aid me. Their hospitality, shown not merely in delightful entertainment in their homes, but by many hours of conversation on topics to them worn threadbare, by making accessible private records of store and plantation, by days of travel in country districts, gives evidence of a desire to have the truth known. Yet, pleasant as it would be no one individual can see all parts of the land nor can any considerable number see more than a few places. It is essential however that those of us at a distance should have fairly accurate perceptions of the general situation which can be got only from careful accounts of local conditions. Whence are these to come unless the men and women of the South think it worth while to record the successes and failures of human life? Is there not an opportunity here worthy of serious attention?

There are certain peculiar difficulties which are more or less disheartening—difficulties growing out of the desire of certain people and papers to exploit all such labors for their personal advantage. As a good Southern friend of mine writes, "If I give months, or years, of careful, honest thought to a phase of this question, and reach a conclusion which happens to be partially in harmony with some blatant politician's notions,—I hate to think that my conclusion is therefore to be discounted and at-

tributed to 'prejudice.'" There is no escape from this danger but silence does not help the situation. Whatever it costs, whatever the difficulties, the facts must be ascertained, collated and published. A beginning in this direction has been made in such studies as those of Alfred Holt Stone, "The Negro in the Yazoo Mississippi Delta" and William W. Elwang, "The Negroes of Columbia, Missouri." In this class belong also several monographs published in the Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor. Such studies, I trust, are but indications of greater things to come.

The sum and substance of this article, then, is an appeal for information. The things best known to us by reason of our daily contact with the negro are often lightly considered by us while to others at a distance whether of space or time they are often of paramount importance. I have tried to point out some of those things which to me seem important in the hope of stimulating students in the South to cultivate this field. I must not fail to mention the excellent work being done by THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY in presenting such first hand studies from month to month. It seems to me a long step in the right direction. Frank and honest statements of facts and beliefs are necessary whether we agree with all that is said or not. I have tried also to show the peculiar need for such studies at the present time and if they are forthcoming I believe they will have vast influence.

The writer's general attitude towards the questions at issue will have been seen ere this. The process of domestication is slow. There is, however, but one way out of the present situation and that is at the top. My belief is that if we would only search more closely for the facts we might more intelligently help along this great process of adjustment. As we are driven by the winds and tides of passion we too often grope blindly for some guiding principle, grasping eagerly at each new vaunted panacea which proves to be but a floating straw. Civilization is not accidental, a matter of chance. It is governed by fixed laws. All of them we do not know, but some we have learned. Why not take advantage of all the knowledge we can get to help us work out some rational methods as regards our dealing with the negro? To this attitude I believe public sentiment is coming. It is a time when policies are being re-shaped, new methods introduced. My plea is that we may have the facts to guide us and that we may not be left to the mercies of the "blind leaders of the blind."

## The Decline of Self-Ownership\*

BY FRANK C. WOODWARD, LITT. D.

That old philosophic dictum, *Know Thyself*, the pedagogical aphorism of human culture, has been sufficiently realized for a further step. We have attained a good working knowledge of the problem, man; now comes a correction of method and aim, to make the study of man effective for human freedom. For while compassing wide knowledge of human nature, we still fall short of the wisdom to apply that knowledge to the right development of the individual. We have been exploiting nature and human nature scientifically and commercially, until the opening of the twentieth century finds us fairly committed to the method of reckoning both in terms of industrial profit and loss. Our valuation of nature is based on the arithmetical sum of her products; our estimate of man is the gross measure of his efficiency as a wage-earner.

*Know Thyself* has sunk to the crude definition, know thy capacity to higgie and chaffer, to squeeze the biggest possible money-gain out of time, talent, and opportunity. It has become imperative to change our watch-words, and to seek better definitions and higher aims. Command over nature and the industrial effectualizing of man are not amiss, as necessary first steps in achieving human progress; what is amiss is the putting of this preliminary means for the end, is paying almost exclusive heed to nature, the food and clothing and wealth-giver, to the neglect of nature the restorer and inspirer; is spending this short and precious life in purveying to man the animal, to the ruinous neglect of man the immortal soul. Let us exchange the old motto, *Know Thyself* for the new command, *Own Thyself!* a brief way of putting the truth continually neglected, yet continually persisting, the truth that the ideal of personal development is the largest individual liberty compatible with right social and civil organization. Unremitting insistence on this is demanded by the prevalent menace to personal freedom from modern misdirected social,

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\*An address before the graduating class at Trinity College, June 7, 1904.

industrial, and political influences. Lulled by national security, lapped in growing luxury, forgetful of experience, blind to history, man is losing the only progressive impulse, the impulse of spiritual individual initiative. The serious menace to progress is the evident weakening of the individual in the struggle against organized parties, trusts, unions, organized society and hierarchy, organized public opinion and majority control. This is no alarmist shriek; the warning is writ so large and lurid in the signs of the times, that no seer is needed to unriddle it, if besotted eyes would but lift and look. We may not perceive that the right of the individual to seek ends unacceptable to gregarious opinion, and at odds with political, commercial, or religious dogmatism is dwindling to the vanishing point, because, like Balaam subsidized by Balak,

"We hear the Almighty's word,  
We see the angel's sword;

Yet low upon the earth our heart and treasure lie."

This peril is the more dangerous that it does not threaten openly, does not coerce violently; that would rouse the martyr spirit; and oppression has learned its business too well to repeat that blunder. It now works insidiously through subtle agencies of custom and conventionality; it robs the world of liberty on behalf of human progress and salvation. All unconsciously men are abdicating the divine right of self-ownership, the only ownership finally worth while, under the delusion that the spirit of quiescence and compromise makes for human uplift!

But why stir satisfied humanity with this rude shock?—because the peril is imminent. The narrowed limits of individual influence, the decline of personal initiative—in a word, the withering of the individual and the dominancy of mob rule, under the guise of public opinion—are at hand. The professional optimist, the claqueur of our spectacular melodrama of civilization, will answer that never before has the individual won such fame, honor and wealth; and his claim must be admitted so far as it applies to commerce; but this is only an exception that tests and emphasizes the rule. The professional optimist, too, seeks to drive protesters out of the field with such hard names as "alarmist" and "pessimist." But remember that he is the optimist who, believing in God and humanity and immortal destiny, will not be silent

when peril is near, however unacceptable at the moment his warning may be; and he is the pessimist who, on whatever pretense, holds his tongue or speaks smooth things, when he should sound the alarm. Let us not be deceived by this apparently larger liberty of the individual in the field of trade, to conclude like enlargements in other spheres of effort. This abnormal industrial success of the individual has been made possible only by an immemorial practice of private ownership and capitalistic profits, sustained by law and custom, which is now reaching its *reductio ad absurdum*, by handing over the earth and the fulness thereof to a hundredth part of the race, and binding the ninety-nine hundredths in practical servitude to this plutocracy. The dominant few are unquestioned lords of our militant commerce, and do not hesitate to exploit the wealth of earth and the energies of their luckless fellowmen to their own ends. This industrial supremacy of the few cannot help resulting in the commercial, social and moral depression of the many. This over-enrichment of one in ten thousand is had at the cost of the impoverishment of most of that ten thousand. Never mind what the statisticians and economists declare or prove,—that kind can always prove what they set out to prove,—no sophistication, no fact-juggling, no logic-chopping can twist this partial and cruel restriction of industrial opportunity, now throttling mankind, into anything other than an exhibition of inhuman selfishness surpassing the piled up barbarities of the past! But this restriction is fundamental in our social and civil polity. And leading all influences that make for the loss of self-ownership is the inveterate law-buttressed tradition and custom of possible monopoly, by accidental squatters, of the soil and mines and other natural and common riches and agencies of mankind's equal heritage, mother earth. So long as this policy is endured, so long will the poor serve the rich, and the innocent be the prey of the astute.

It is a simple sum in primary arithmetic, a child can solve and understand it: The world's material wealth is and must remain limited; there must ever be a striking disproportion between the divisor and the dividend, between the products to be divided and the persons to receive them. If earth's whole yield might be availed of, there would be comfort for all, but riches for none. Under prevailing commercial conditions, however, there can be

riches for a few only, comfort for a majority perhaps, and penury for an increasing minority. World wealth, equally distributed, might, it is guessed, give world inhabitants about \$600 apiece. But our modern standard of wealth asks for several thousand times more than that apiece. Evidently, to be accounted commercially successful, some thousands of human beings must hand over their small shares, to round out the sum necessary to make a successful business man. Most of our great men—that is rich men, great and rich are synonyms of the commercial dictionary—own many millions. One per cent. of the population of these States own fifty-five per cent. of all its wealth. Consequently, but a very slim proportion of our people can aspire to the exclusive class of our best people, our leading citizens. And this proportion is being reduced by the tendency of the plutocratic standard toward the billion dollar mark.

It would seem, then, that there is little reassurance to be drawn from the Fourth of July boast of our spell-binders that we are members of a democratic state whose basal principle is equality, equality before the law, equality of opportunity, equality of manhood. A sufficient commentary on this claim may be read in the opening sentence of Mr. John Mitchell's work, "Organized Labor:" "The average wage earner has made up his mind that he must remain a wage earner. He has given up the hope of a kingdom to come, where he himself will be a capitalist, and he asks that the reward for his work be given to him as a working man." We Americans are not democrats; we are aristocrats, as all people must be in a land where every man is as good as any other man. The only question is what is the standard of our aristocracy? Naturally, the money standard, and by it almost every American measures both others and himself. This makes our society a snobocracy ruled by a plutocracy. Where every man is as good as any other man, money makes him a great deal better! But all aristocracy, especially money aristocracy, must ever stand opposed to the genuine democratic principle, individual self-ownership; these are strenuously incompatible.

We are all would-be plutocrats; that is the goal we yearn to! We spend our little lives to be accounted superior to somebody, aping those above us, elbowing those on a level with us, treading down those beneath us. We break our hearts to scrape up a



little pelf; then move into a fashionable quarter, and enter the squandering contests of the poor-rich. Our new aristocratic pretension is apt to show in an awakened interest in our ancestors. We begin a sleuth search for them; luckily we have at hand those genealogical detectives, the heraldry-mongers, who for cash will nose out and bring to light our remote noble forbears, hide they never so darkly in oblivion, skulk they never so forgotten in plebeian obscurity. This aristocrat-maker draws a diagram and a coat of arms and a crest, and lo! the patent medicine quack, the saponaceous inventor and the breakfast-food discoverer find themselves nobly descended. The new-rich confirms his gentle lineage by hanging that coat of arms in easy view of visitors, by pasting that crest in his books and stamping it on his stationery and blazoning it on the panels of the family carriage. And on the strength of these proofs he proceeds to avoid poor kin, to cut plain old friends, and in other like ways to proclaim himself an unmitigable snob and toady.

Such democracy as ours is the likeliest of all agencies for thwarting individual initiative and crushing individual development. For it is an order of society whose standards and ideals are reckoned by commercial estimates, whose successes are measured by material possessions, and whose coveted attainments are newspaper notoriety and sensual gratification. In this democracy, too, majority opinion, finally controlled by money power, molds and directs political and civil movements, and is almost inevitably applied to the settlement of most matters of public concern. Public opinion finds majority vote the simplest way to settle all questions, commercial, social, and moral. When the majority has spoken, we accept the dictum as decisive, and either acquiesce or submit. The sphere of trade seems to afford an exception to this majority rule; the exception is merely apparent; for when you come to count the dollars, the rich minority is felt to be the strongest of all majorities; "money talks!"

All such agencies make against manly independence, individual self-ownership. Organizations both of capital and labor are, in their present tendencies, inimical to individual freedom. Not that they are intentionally hostile to the individual. Yet it is easy to see how their attitude toward the individual must be repressive, if he insists upon maintaining independent opinions and action.

All such organizations demand, in crises, the suppression of personal preferences and opinions. Capitalists or laborers, men are being forced by modern tendencies to think and act corporately. We mass our votes, we pool our interests, we repress our aspirations and convictions, we deny our ideals, and we wait till we know what the party, the corporation, the union, public opinion has concluded. And indeed men's living and life depend on their falling in with the modern Hep! Hep! to which humanity times its stumbling march, at command. In such a state of affairs efficiency counts for less than conformity; for the rule must be the abeyance of all views at variance with dominant opinion. The ecclesiastic who kicks against theological pricks is likely to find himself without a pulpit; the teacher who oversteps the narrow pedagogical creed is shelved; the politician who criticises the party program is discredited; the merchant who will not come into the "combine" is smashed; the workman who fails to shout with the union is hounded as a scab; the mortal who dares take issue with the fads of public opinion is smeared off its list of *personae gratae*.

And there seems to be no fortress to fall back to, no reserve to call up for support. The independent movements of the past, the protests in church and state and society, seem to have spent their force and to have passed into history. Protestantism has quit protesting; reform is unpopular; revolution is an anachronism; free thought and free speech are more and more averse to outspokenness; the individual shrinks pathetically from taking issue with public sentiment. The rule of conduct is rapidly enforcing conformity, timidity, suppression of opinions, avoidance of convictions.

There can be but one result, and it comes apace: it is the crippling of individuality, the alienation of self-ownership. The dragon coils of conformity are tightening about the race, crushing hope and life. Bating a lessening number of owners and tillers of the soil, men are mostly wage-earning hirelings, the single, simple article of whose creed is the utilitarian maxim, "A man must not quarrel with his bread and butter"—a bald euphemism for the threat "A man had better not fall out with his masters." Those who own the wealth must ere long own the earth, including the involuntary serfs who, without realizing it, go with the

land. The laboring millions work the farms and mines and shops and factories of the rich; and the teachers, lawyers, physicians, preachers and other so-called professionals form a somewhat higher class of servitors of the rich, the exploiters of earth and men. Pay and living are in their hands, and naturally men grow unconsciously careful not to offend them. Capitalists are not to blame. They are at present the more lucky victims of the utterly unreasonable industrial order; they too at last will be ground as fine as any in this indiscriminate avalanche of commercialism.

For hirelings, the only safety in such a case is in stock opinions, conventional views, orthodox sentiments. We are the children of our age, which merits the sneer, "destitute of faith, yet terrified at doubt." So far from realizing their servitude, men confidently deny it; but if any modern hireling, from breaker-boy to subsidized senator, doubts and dares put the question to issue, he will find that personal freedom, while allowed in theory on all matters, is denied in practice on the most essential concerns of life. And this new reign of terror needs no prison, no rack, no police: the eager throng of dependents watch its nod, the quiver of its eyelash, and leap to anticipate its caprices.

This is the situation and its outlook. What shall we do with it? There is but one answer: Resume self-ownership! If necessary, throw over so-called fame, wealth, ease, and distinction, and count them but dross for the content and gladness of being your own man. Revise, re-define, reassert self-ownership. The supreme question for mankind is, what is finally worth while, what is supremely desirable? Is it dollars or men, salary or self, soul or body? Every living soul reaches early this fork in the road; one way opening broad and smooth, with inviting decline for easy going; the other strait and narrow and upward, to the rough passes of renunciation, the cold peaks of isolation. We may not shun either question or answer; they are forever at our throats, forever crying for settlement to every soul that flits from one blank eternity to the other, across this narrow stage of time. It has long been accepted that the question of human liberty is a national question; but nature and conscience proclaim it a personal question. Its call is to the individual: Will *you* be bond or free? will *you* belong to a master or own yourself? It rings clearest in the ears of young men, not yet knocked down at high

salaries to the modern slave-buyer. A goodly number of you, called graduates, are at the starting line today, crouching, quivering, tense, eager for the shot that sends you off for the life-race. What is your goal? Is it a dash for a purse, a sprint for a cup, or is it to be a steady, weary drive over the whole course for the championship, for self-ownership? If the latter, then you are to run against none but yourself, to beat none but your weaker self, to win nothing but your better self.

The contest is not commercial, for that means failure for almost all who strive. The conditions of the commercial struggle, the social struggle, the political struggle, suppress personal excellence, and compel personal subservience. These arouse and give play to the baser powers, the selfish natures, the cruel instincts of men. These depress emotional, humane, moral qualities. These give the prize to brain and brawn, to cleverness and ruthlessness, a prize to one in ten thousand strivers, and often to the merely astute, the cunning, the crafty. No partial conditions like these may restrict the range of human effort; there must be full scope and free action. And this is to be found only in the emotional and moral sphere, where the honors are not restricted to the gifted, where the race is not to the intellectually gifted, and the prize to the intellectually strong; but where they are within the reach of all.

The goal of life is self-development and self-giving, and the preliminary is self-owning. We are here to think and feel and act according to individual light and leaning; to grow a truth within, till it flowers and fruits into noble use. Personality is not to be attuned to the monotone of characterless uniformity. Handel's "Creation" opens with chaotic discords, painfully rising to the unified melody of congruent but self-insistent symphonies. The oratorio of humanity, in like manner, is an organic disharmony, a clangor or warring antiphonies, a crash of antagonistic convictions, edged with the red lightning of dissent; but out of this clamor and stridency shall rise at last a far-sounding diapason, beyond mere concord, above mere harmony, giving scope for dissentient strains, protesting chords of feeling, persisting, appealing, aspiring; not yet at one, but native, vigorous, and seeking accord.

The first principle of self-ownership is command of one's own

body, to dispose of at will. Free the body first. Every one claims this ownership, though few possess it. Indeed, the condition of this ownership is found to be exacting, and in sharp clash with the common estimate of values. No matter in what calling, the present standard of promotion and success is the wage-scale: to rise from one to three dollars a day, from one thousand to three thousand dollars a year is the popular arithmetic of success. But, in sharp contrast to this, the first principle of individual freedom is that, in no matter what calling, from ditcher to President; at no matter what salary, from one hundred to one hundred thousand dollars a year, he who reckons his worth, his usefulness, his success by the size of his wage is the slave! He who makes his decision as to life-work or promotion with chief reference to the increase of his pay is sounding the depths of abjectness. It is increase of pay that makes real slaves; this is the *rationale* of human bondage!

Humanity, then, must radically change its estimate of values. To measure worth by wage is to sell out to the highest bidder, is to still the tongue, silence conscience, and abdicate manhood. All else of slavery easily follows. Be sure that no man can own himself who does not command his own labor. When the crisis comes the hireling must submit! Take a high view of life and duty. What do you mean by that much-mouthed word, success? Whatever the stock definitions may say, all are lies that fail to define it in spiritual terms. What will best fit for duty and service, what will make for clean body, pure mind, devoted energies and unbuyable convictions? is the only question with which an immortal soul dare meet life. But rise and size of salary have naught to do with this question. When a man has honestly asked himself this question he will find the answer forever silence the wage clamor for him. Scope and opportunity for self-development and self-expenditure in altruistic service is what you are to seek.

But "a man must live!" you murmur. That usually means that "a man," the poor fellow whining that specious plea, wishes to eat and drink and dress and grow fat! Do you mean by "a man" the animal that hampers and cabins your immortal soul, and spends life guzzling in the flesh-pots? Or are you disposed to be reasonable, and really ask only enough to keep the body

well and content? If so, then you must admit that this can be done on about one fourth what an average laborer can earn. There is no trouble about the body, if it will be satisfied with the simple life; but it is a prime condition of self-ownership that one shall be content with plain food, clothes, and shelter. That is, he must count bodily life cheap and soul life high. Those that would be free have ever been a devoted band, life in hand, ready to give it and all, if need were, for that boon. If you are of that sort, you will not reckon it a hardship to welcome the simple life. Do not go away because of that saying, listen further. Granted, "a man must live," even this outer man; there is an inner man that must live too, the immortal man! Indeed, he only shall live; the outer man shall die! The body perishes on food and drink and clothes and shelter, often the more quickly by reason of abundance of these. The real man lives on faith, hope and love; on duty, honor and probity; on devotion, aspiration and renunciation, things that no sum of wages can buy, but that free manhood, self-owning manhood, may win.

Can manhood hesitate here? Give the body its due pittance, and keep the large residue of and labor and feeling for the higher life. Bodily need is already largely provided for, with free air and sunshine and fire and water; and as men come to social sanity, free earth shall be for all the sons of earth; and strong arms and wills shall do the rest. But this means poverty! It means to meet life unmortgaged; to undergo its wearing campaigns unhampered: it means enough to eat, drink, wear and own, and scope to think, speak, feel and act independently! If this be poverty, then all hail poverty! for it assures soul weal. This is the rede of the Antæus riddle: fall on mother earth's full bosom, and no Hercules of trust or union shall harm you; a few acres, some rude implements in willing hands, with nature and God on your side, and you are your own man. It is but harking back to the brave, free pioneer life that made our early times so clean and sweet and strong. The redeemers of modern society shall turn again to pioneering, to blaze and clear a way for men through this tangled wilderness of commercialism.

Yet this accomplished is but preliminary; is no more than climbing into vision of the land of promise. To be worth owning, there must be value in you, and the only enduring value is in

right thinking, feeling and acting; you must attain and assert beliefs, convictions, aspirations. The danger is the readiness of the world to conclude that these things are unpractical, do not greatly matter, may be kept in abeyance, silenced or ignored, especially if unpopular. This is the dry rot creed that is eating humanity's heart out; this the atrophy of character that is shriveling its soul! There is an increasing horde of poltroons who dare not have convictions, of cowards who dare assert them, of traitors who dare throttle them for pay; but the hopeless mortal is he who sinks lower than the depth of hypocrisy, into the nethermost depth of self-deception, out of which no soul ariseth; is he who satisfies his craven spirit that independent thinking and courageous speaking are not the best means to excellence and usefulness; but puts in their stead what the world commends as expedient, discreet, conservative. If you will fool the world, do not consent to fool yourself: leave that last loophole open, that some time, if you ever wake again, you may crawl back to the vantage ground of repentance, and wail for pardon!

If you smother convictions in your breast, they will tear your soul in their writhings, ere they die; nothing is more disturbing to internal peace than suppressed convictions. They must have utterance; they are not private property, do not belong inside any soul. They are the offspring of your immortal self, and have a right to see the light, to seek their opportunity, to travail and be born. You may not quench them, starve them, abort them. Your own development depends on their birth and growth; and the world's betterment waits on their promulgation.

"The word you had not heart to say,  
Who knows how grandly it had rung!"

You may not dodge behind the pretext that you have no great truth to proclaim, no world enlightening thought, no soul freeing sentiment. That is not the condition of courageous utterance; but only this: that you feel and love a truth. Brave thinking does not mean great thinking, but only the outgiving of earnest conviction. It is of the heart rather than the head; it utters emotions oftener than thoughts. Few can throw light on world problems, the riddles of science, the puzzles of philosophy. But rightmindedness enamoured of truth can do better than this: it can illustrate fealty to virtue and loyalty to righteousness.

Intellect sheds light, but emotion pours warmth; few can think, but all can feel! The world, flooded with the dazzling but cold light of reason, sinks shivering, till revived by the glow from hearts on fire with zeal for humanity and God.

The final test of self-ownership is the will and force to stand alone. Most of us muster proudly enough with a majority; many can stand undaunted with a bold minority; not a few can even dare "the imminent deadly breach" in the thin ranks of a forlorn hope. But to face the menacing ramparts of custom, the frowns of angry public opinion, in a forlorn hope of one, that gives humanity pause! This is the crucial ordeal of manhood. When you meet this test, you shall learn what it is to stand alone. It is a joyous day in the home when the sprawling babe pulls himself upright, and hardly keeps his uncertain legs, getting ready to walk. It is a glad hour in the wide human household when one of its multitude of crawlers, roused by a heart-searching truth, pulls his loose members together and totters to his unaccustomed feet, for his first lesson in standing alone. Then ensue troubled alternations of tumbling and rising, till upborne by manly resolve, the neophyte learns "to run and not be weary, to walk and not faint." You shall need to learn it, if you will be a self-owner; you shall need to practice it, if you will be a man.

There shall not lack reinforcement from celestial strongholds to sustain you, and examples to hearten you. It is well to bear such exemplars in mind. They are not too numerous, the recorded ones; but the unrecorded are a mighty cloud of witnesses, could we but behold them. That reassurance to the discouraged prophet, doubting his were the all the knees that bowed to Jehovah, his the sole lips that adored him, is earnest of hosts of nameless self-owners, unregistered in time's brief annals, but shining on the rosters of eternity. Note two from the remote and near past, to prove how mere men, of like passions and weaknesses as ourselves, have stood alone and taught the way to after-comers. Their simple confessions shall ring in humanity's ears while men love truth and honor devotion. One is the man of Uz, prone on his ash-heap, his God turned against him. Yet from his cracked, parched lips forever echoes that sublimest of all oaths of allegiance to conscience, "So long as I live my heart



shall not reproach me!" The other is the Genius of the Reformation braving allied church and state at Worms, and daring rack and stake with his outcry, "Here I stand, I cannot otherwise; God help me!"

But they were vindicated! Yes, but it was incidental; they did not need it for themselves. Not vindication exalts their names, and makes them examples for all time, but their courage to stand alone, vindication or no vindication! What have vindication and reinstatement to do with character? Those are the conventional dependence of watery fiction; those the painted decoys that lure weak souls to the snare of the arch enemy; those the bonus of the groveling barterers who cannot be content with naked self-worthiness; but ask, when they have left houses and brethren and sisters and father and mother and children and lands for truth's sake, what they shall have therefor! There is many a mere trafficker will gladly traverse the valley of the shadow of death, if only he be assured of emerging on the shining heights of vindication, bathed in triumph, while the deploring world whimpers *Peccavi's*, and shouts, Grace unto him! You may not seek your reward in kind, but be still cheerful, faithful, man-loving, God-trusting without it. If you can drink this cup and be baptized with this baptism, you shall hear in your quiet breast an approving Well-done! and all in good time, the hero-hail of the great Assize, "Come thou, and walk with me in white; for thou art worthy!"

So the conclusion of the matter is the divine paradox Christ taught and lived, the paradox of self-owning and self-giving. Win self to give self; but bear in mind, you may not give, till you can make an unimpeachable deed of gift. You cannot give away a self you do not own! But if indeed you are your own man, there is no richer gift you can make to your fellow men; that is to become at once Son of Man and Son of God, by the Christ-taught way of unrestricted service. And yet this blessed self-giving is now and then restrained, served with an injunction from God's vicegerent, conscience. You may be forced to resume self-ownership, in those crises which put the supreme duty of self-worthiness above the almost supreme duty of service. That time is at hand, when conscience refuses to suffer others to determine the method and end of self-giving. The highest voice

is this God's whisper within: the voice of Joshua heard, standing alone over against the host, when he declared, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord;" the voice Moses heeded, when he turned his back on Pharoah's palace, and stripped off his princely insignia; the voice that from childhood came to Socrates, commending at last the hemlock to his lips, with the assurance, "There can no evil befall a good man whether he be alive or dead!"

This voice shall speak to you, too, in your crises. Give it careful heed. For there will be a clamor of cries without and within, bidding to take the pleasing path your heart leans to. Every voice perhaps, save this mild monitor, will commend the primrose path of compromise and conformity, as the way to success and fame and usefulness. That will be the hour of supreme test; there will be nothing more to fear, this final trial victoriously passed. Remember Job and Luther and Jesus then. Face unflinchingly the probability that you shall not outwardly triumph; that you shall indeed seem to have failed: be comforted, you cannot fail, till you fail within, till you fail yourself! The voices must be against you, the outer voices, "the fiend voices that rave," the world's, your friends', may be those of your dearest councillor. If such a trial shall meet you, and it besets the rugged pathways of duty, turn the ear inward, and heed only the still small voice. That voice will not threaten, will not persuade; but only whisper, "This is the way; walk in it!" You will doubtless argue and protest: It is rugged and thorny; it has no light, no promise; it leads far into the wilderness; it arrays men against me; it alienates my friends; it strikes dead my hopes of fame and honor and usefulness; it cleaves my heart in twain. But should that voice insist, sink on the wet turf of your Gethsemane, for you are but human, and wail, if you must, "Let this cup pass from me!" But "the black moment at end," rise up under your cross, and follow after Him who has shed hope over the Golgothas where his initiates take the last degree.

## The Educational Significance of Modern Language Study in the Secondary School—II.

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[In the last number of this magazine the author studied the disciplinary significance of translation from French and German into the vernacular, and also the benefits arising from composition in these idioms. We are now ready to continue our examination of the educational significance of modern language study in the secondary school.]

The inflectional and syntactical sides of the grammar present an excellent opportunity for oral drill. The teacher who insists upon an exclusive attention to Greek and Latin because he considers them more difficult at these points, and, therefore, superior disciplinary agencies, makes a grave error. Greater difficulty is, *per se*, by no means a sign of greater effectiveness in the training of the mind. A ten-pound dumb-bell is really more useful for the training of the human body than one weighing fifty pounds, for the reason that it can be handled to greater advantage. Similarly the more difficult of two branches of study may be inferior as a discipline. But nowadays our more intelligent classicists will hardly argue for the superiority of the classics as subjects for instruction in the preparatory school on account of the greater difficulty of their accidence and syntax. Rather will they point, as Professor Morris has done, to the fuller inflectional system, and the more complete formulation of the syntax—which has indeed proceeded to a point that must elicit the admiration of every genuine student of language—and contend that on this account the classics present a better opportunity for training in observation, generalization, and proof, in short, in scientific thinking.\* But every teacher who has had practical experience in trying to get students to master the various details of German declension, comparison, and conjugation knows that learning them constitutes for the ordinary student in school or college a really difficult task. To those who, like Professor Morris, greatly esteem a complicated inflectional system, we teachers of German

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\*E. P. Morris. *The Study of Latin in the Preparatory School*, p. 21.

have only this to say, "Enough is as good as a feast." Nor do I believe for a moment that any of our French colleagues will lament that at this point the language they teach is less involved than the German. It is more likely that they will congratulate themselves upon having just so much more opportunity to deal with the many obstacles that obstruct the path of the student who is trying to achieve that "possession effective" which Prof. Michel Bréal declares the modern language teacher is now alone expected to impart.\* Let us bear in mind, too, that a mere committing of paradigms involves for the most part arbitrary and not reasoned memory. So far as it is work of this sort, it is useless for purposes of mental drill. To be sure in so far as a system of inflections stands for logical distinctions, it lends itself to the cultivation of ability in scientific reasoning. This, and not any training that may be imagined as resulting from the mere committing to memory, constitutes its value. Though the inflections in French are less elaborate than in German, they yet provide in no inconsiderable degree the real advantages arising from formal variation. Dr. Curt Schaefer, in comparing the French and the Latin languages in this regard, says: "Let us compare French and Latin *accidence*. The wealth of forms in the ancient languages has been especially praised, and over against it has been set the poverty of modern languages. The abundance of grammatical forms is, however, in itself of no particular advantage for mental discipline, when these do not correspond to logical forms of speech, which alone yield new syntactical relations. Thus, the fact that the genitive singular ends now in *-ae*, now in *-i*, now in *-is*, now in *-us*, now in *-ei* requires of the student no logical judgment, but simply mechanical learning and a good memory. The great variety of grammatical forms and the many exceptions simply cannot be recognized as necessary manifestations of the spirit of the language, arising from its inner nature, and cannot be grasped by the reason, but on the contrary all difficult declensional inflections can only be mechanically impressed upon the memory. But if we compare the logical forms of the languages, i. e., those whose employment demands special syntactical knowledge, we find, it is true, that the Latin has an advantage of four declensional forms, namely, the vocative and

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\*Michel Bréal. *De l'enseignement des langues vivantes*, p. 94.

the ablative of the singular and plural, but on the other hand that the French verb has forty-five conjugational forms more than the Latin. In other respects, too, French is richer than Latin at corresponding points. Thus, for example, the genitive of the relative pronoun, which has in Latin only one form, has in French *de qui*, *dont*, *duquel*, *de laquelle*, and *d'ou*, which are employed for entirely distinct purposes under varying syntactical conditions, and, consequently, additional judgments and inferences are demanded. But despite the very numerous formal variations of the French language, despite the fact, for example, that, as was said above, it has in conjugation alone forty-five more than the Latin, learning them is extraordinarily easy. Of the 184 forms of the verb, only 34 need to be separately acquired, because all those remaining are formed by compounding with *avoir* and *etre*. In the Latin just the opposite is the case; there only 30 are compounded, and of the 139 conjugational forms, therefore, 109 must be separately learned, and these are grouped, moreover, in four conjugations."<sup>\*</sup>

But what of the syntax and the value of the discipline that can be obtained here? Is the syntax of the modern more confused than the syntax of the classical languages, and is the structure of the former essentially inferior and less well adapted for the purpose of mental discipline? These are far-reaching questions and their thorough answer would involve an analysis far beyond the scope of this discussion. I cannot believe for a moment that such an analysis would result to the disadvantage of the modern idioms. American students almost invariably find French the clearest of all great foreign idioms, whether classical or modern. German, like English, is a Teutonic language, and is in its structure closely related to the latter. It should, therefore, so far as syntax is concerned, be peculiarly accessible to the comprehension of our students. Both languages have borne, and are today bearing, a colossal part in the expression of the world's best thought. A rough evidence of this is found in the fact that in the year 1902, the last for which I have statistics at hand, the number of books published in France and Germany bore to the number published in England and America approximately the

<sup>\*</sup>The reference is to the genitive singular, of course.

†Dr. Curt Schaefer. *Der formale Bildungswert des Französischen*, p. 5.

ratio of five to two. The age of the developed modern idioms has been pre-eminently the age of the race's maturity, and notably the period of accurate, profound, and far-sweeping thought. Language and thought develop *pari passu*, and are inter-dependent. Surely modern idioms cannot, therefore, be essentially inferior to those of ancient times, and cannot have a capricious and confused syntax. When inflections have disappeared, other equally effective substitutes have been found. The French language, in which inflections have less place than in any of the four languages I am at this moment discussing, the student finds exceptionally clear. Law still reigns, therefore, and our syntax lends itself to a very adequate and satisfactory formulation.

That much has been done to develop such a formulation no one familiar with the researches of the army of philologists, many of them men of the highest scholarship, who during the last century have occupied themselves with French and German syntax, can doubt. But why then are our school grammars not so complete, so thorough-going, if you please, as those Greek and Latin grammars which are commonly accounted the best? Not, as some careless thinkers have supposed, because the modern languages are inferior instruments for the expression of thought, that is, more given to caprice and less obedient to law. The reasons are rather these: Modern French and German are living tongues, they are constantly growing and changing, just as was the case with the classical languages when they were alive. Our grammarians must accommodate themselves not only to the written language, as is the case in the classics, but also to the very great volume of spoken usage, of which they have accurate first-hand knowledge; for there is no line that can be closely drawn between the written and the spoken language. Moreover, knowledge of conversational usage is in itself desirable, and aids, as Professor Bréal has so well shown in the case of Schiller, in explaining the language of literature.\*

Again, the mass of material which the modern idioms present is altogether out of proportion to that extant in the classics, and it all has formative influence in the development of the language in which it is written. During the year 1902 there were published

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\*M. Bréal, l. c., p. 87 ff.

in Germany 26,900 books, in France the number reached 12,200. During the same period France supported 4,500, and Germany 7,500, newspapers. It is very evident that under such conditions classification grows more difficult, exceptions multiply, classes overlap, and it becomes less possible to organize all the facts into a complete system, a problem that admits of absolute solution in no language. Let us apply, therefore, to the whole subject of syntax what Professor Goodell, of Yale University, says of the uses of the adnominal genitive in Greek: "Some combinations occur so often that they are named, but a host of others are too various and too elusive to name."<sup>\*</sup> And yet it must not be forgotten that we have an abundance of classified material for fruitful drill in observation, generalization, and proof, so much, indeed, that we are often tempted to give altogether too much time to this work.

Let us look at the subject of French syntax. There are still people who should know better who declare that French has no syntax. If such a person should desire to see in what detail the complicated character of this subject has been set forth in our country, he need but turn to Professor Harrison's *Syntax*,<sup>†</sup> in which an attempt is made to present the facts in an approximately complete system. In his table of contents, the author devotes sixteen pages to an analysis of the presentation of syntax. If you will turn for a moment to his treatment of the French case system, you will find that he classifies eleven varieties of the genitive, fourteen of the dative, nine of the accusative, and four of the vocative. If we distinguish between the subject and predicate nominative, we shall have a total of forty kinds of case usage. But this is by no means the whole story. The genitive case, particularly, is still further analyzed, its eleven main-heads developing by sub-division into thirty-four classes. I have spoken of the method employed by Professor Harrison simply to illustrate the fact that a very complicated text-book can readily enough be produced, though some people say French has no syntax. It is necessary to say, in justice to Professor Harrison, that he never intended his book for use in ordinary school or college classes. The tendency in the production of working

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<sup>\*</sup>T. G. Goodell. *A School Grammar of Greek*, p. 193.

<sup>†</sup>James A. Harrison. *French Syntax*.

grammars, and in teaching modern languages as well, has been decidedly away from such treatment. We have constantly been growing wiser in this matter. The Fraser and Squair grammar, now widely and justly popular, devotes but a single page to its entire table of contents. Constructions that appeared in the former work as genitives or datives of this or that sort are accounted for under the uses of prepositions, the government of the verb, or elsewhere, so far as they need to be accounted for, as they frequently do not. The words genitive and accusative are not noted in the index, and reference is made only to the dative of pronouns. Everywhere, as far as has seemed feasible, simplification has taken place, and consequently a grammar has been produced that will work. Successful teaching of French has been uniformly preferred to unsuccessful teaching of a linguistic system. The whole effort seems to be to classify those constructions that are sufficiently different from those of the English language to trouble the ordinary student in the classes for which the book is designed. There is a complete emancipation from the fetishism of system-teaching.

But does the student any longer have anything to do? More than most of them can do in a thorough-going manner in school or college. Let the doubter take a look with this question in mind at Fraser and Squair's discussion of the article, the elaborate pronominal system and its complicated usage, the rich conjugational development, abounding in much close classification, notably the tenses of the indicative mood, the subjunctive and its sequence of tenses, and the infinitive. Let him glance, too, at the section on negation. I am confident that he will, even if he go no further, be willing to admit that instructors have more opportunity than they desire for discipline in observation, generalization, and proof.

It is well enough known that German grammar makes more abundant provision for work of this sort. The declensional system of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives is quite complicated and presents greater opportunity for syntactical classification. We have an elaborate prepositional system to supplement our case usage. We have three genders against the two of the French language, and these are somewhat subject to logical consideration, but, as in Greek, Latin, and French, in no very complete



way. We have an ample conjugational development. The subjunctive mood and the sequence of its tenses, and the infinitive yield abundant material for syntactical drill. Our subjunctive, if the conditional be classified under this head, as it should be, shows eight tenses, against four in the Latin, all of which have their definite uses. Moreover, the conjugational system is supplemented by an imposing array of fully-conjugated modal auxiliaries, which itself forms a complicated study for the young student. Additional work in the way of scientific reasoning can be done with adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. An examination, in some such work as Thomas' Practical Grammar, of the sections dealing with the article, the adjective, the genitive and dative cases of the noun, the subjunctive and infinitive moods, the preposition, the subject of word order, ought to satisfy even the exacting that German syntax provides, though briefly stated, sufficient opportunity for observation, generalization, and proof, and for clear-cut logical statement of a student's knowledge. There are hundreds and hundreds of sections, classes, and sub-classes, clearly marked off one from another, far more room for work of this sort in a word than we can even approximately do in school or college. Add to these considerations the further one that we are constantly teaching the student how to escape from a grammatical difficulty by logical analysis and synthesis and an accompanying use of the imagination, in short, that we are in a measure teaching him to build his syntax on the basis of knowledge already obtained, as he proceeds. When we consider these facts, it is, I think, perfectly clear that French and German syntax will meet all reasonable disciplinary requirements.

Again, the modern languages are peculiarly rich in their store of material for phonological drill. We can accept a current pronunciation as standard, and can closely observe it. In a word, teachers of modern languages work with an actual pronunciation and not with a theoretical one. Phoneticians have now devised exceedingly accurate instruments for measuring sounds, and excellent means for recording them. It is not at all a difficult task to develop under favorable conditions a very satisfactory pronunciation of German. Even in the extremely difficult French pronunciation, gratifying results are being obtained with the aid of recently devised phonetic notation. But unless students begin

these languages early—let us mark this well—the great bulk of them will never pronounce decently. It is partly a physiological matter, as the vocal organs more and more lose their elasticity and consequent capacity for adjustment. Furthermore, here, as elsewhere, habit is strong and binds the student more and more firmly as he grows older. To a student advanced in years the production of a new sound is an exceedingly difficult matter. Frequently such a student has completely lost the power both to make and to discern foreign sounds, and you cannot help him by the most improved phonetical method. He has gotten so in the habit, too, of regarding the letters of the alphabet as standing for definite English values that it is frequently impossible to get him to give them a value, perhaps not foreign to the English language, but represented there by other letters or combinations of letters. Thus these students find it extremely difficult to pronounce the German diphthong *eu* nearly like *oi* in English oil. It is perfectly clear upon a little reflection that if we are to secure good results in pronunciation for the great mass of our students, the study of these languages must be begun in our secondary schools. A proper pronunciation will add greatly to the interest and the pleasure of the student, and is truly a part of the culture that comes from the study of a foreign language, for it is greatly worth while to be able to quote from a foreign language with a pronunciation that will not offend the ear of a native. We have in such drill a method of training the ear, and also a very satisfactory test in the criticism of the teacher who can pronounce well of the student's success in discerning and in being able to reproduce rapidly and accurately delicate shadings of sound. This discipline of the ear and the vocal organs—no less worthy an aim because it is so generally neglected—is a feature almost unique to the modern languages. Moreover, accurate pronunciation of words helps the memory greatly in getting and keeping a firm hold upon new words, as Professor Bréal very properly maintains.\*

The day will come, too, whether we see it or not, when, as is now the case in German gymnasiums and French lycées, the students of high-class preparatory schools in the South will actually acquire a fair degree of conversational efficiency in

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\*L. c. 32.

modern languages. But whatever the reader may think of the probability of this consummation—at best a remote one, I must admit—there can be no manner of doubt that these languages can be made living tongues to the student in our secondary schools. This is of vast advantage in stimulating his interest and in encouraging him to enlarge his attainment in the subject. Moreover, the colloquial use of the language has very striking value as a discipline of the mind in ways that I have not yet mentioned. Professor Comfort, in his monograph, "Modern Languages in Education," points out some of these very clearly and forcefully, as follows: "After the rudiments of pronunciation have been mastered, the most rapid and correct habits of analysis and synthesis are called into action in the practical use of the spoken languages. The difference between the rapidity and precision of mental action which are necessary in order to understand a spoken sentence, and those which are required in order to pick out deliberately, when seated at one's desk, with grammar and dictionary at hand, the meaning of the same sentence from the printed page, is not unlike the difference in skill which is necessary for a sportsman to hit a bird on the wing, from that which is requisite in order to hit a painted bird in a shooting gallery. There is an equally great difference between the rapidity and precision of mental action which are required in order to formulate a sentence in rapid conversation, and those which are necessary in order to write out deliberately, when seated at a desk, with grammar and dictionary at hand, a sentence in Latin and Greek composition.

"Thus, in order to understand a spoken sentence, in the first place, the hearer must rapidly and almost unconsciously separate the succession of sounds in a sentence into individual words; for in all spoken languages, there is little if any more separation of sound recognizable to the ear between the words of a sentence, than between the syllables of a word. After having recognized the separate words in the spoken sentence, the hearer must recognize the stems of words and the influence of terminations, prefixes and suffixes, and the influence of syntactical laws. He must also consider whether the words are employed in their primary or with derived signification, and whether the sentence contains idiomatic expressions, ellipses, and other figures of

speech. And finally he must consider the relation of the sentence to preceding conversation. All this must be done in a flash, like the taking of an instantaneous photograph."<sup>\*</sup>

Thirty-three years ago John Stuart Blackie published with Macmillan & Company a little book of Greek colloquies, such as he had himself found useful in his classes. In the preface to that work, he uses the following significant words: "I have proved by experiment that the practise (drill in Greek colloquies) not only does not prejudice reading and writing, as now used, but, as already stated, immensely improves and facilitates both these exercises. In fact, it is the only efficient way to turn the languages taught into the blood and bone of the learner in the shortest possible time, and with the greatest amount of profit."<sup>†</sup> Surely, then, colloquial exercises in the modern languages, where these are in no wise artificial, but the most natural thing in the world, should be especially profitable.

Useful as is this colloquial drill for making the language live, we have still other means to accomplish this end. The history of civilization among modern peoples is especially likely to be adequately written, for we live in the age of the printing-press and detailed record. The circumstances of time and place surrounding the production of a modern work are generally well known. The chances are greatly in favor of our being intimately acquainted with the biography of our authors. Their statues adorn the public squares of their native countries. Good portraits of those who most interest us are probably in existence, and excellent reproductions of these, admirable for hanging on class-room walls, can be bought for a modest price. The houses in which writers lived and the scenes which they frequented are often preserved to us in pictorial form. A summer's jaunt abroad will enable the teacher to come into direct contact with a large part of the physical environment of foreign men of the present, and of an earlier day as well. Upon the stage of their native countries, their dramatic works may still be heard in the original tongue. Any resourceful student may fairly look forward to traveling abroad at some future day, and thus enjoying the advantages attaching to such experience. We have interesting

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<sup>\*</sup>George F. Comfort. *Modern Languages in Education*, p. 16.

<sup>†</sup>*Colloquia Graeca*, p. xx.

books about the daily life and the manners and customs of present foreign peoples. The material for such works is easily accessible, and can be known accurately and in detail. French and German newspapers and magazines can be placed in our libraries. Plans have been worked out which enable young people from this country to carry on a foreign correspondence. The best of maps enable us to orient ourselves thoroughly. France and Germany are at the present time producing noteworthy works in the realms of literature, art, science, and in all other fields of thought as well, which are ever and anon attracting notice in our public prints. Their men of action are performing deeds which challenge attention. Noteworthy visitors from their shores come to our country and say and do interesting and significant things. The editors of modern-language texts have availed themselves in no inconsiderable degree of such portions of this material as are useful for making clear and effective the message of the works with which they have dealt, and constant progress is being made toward producing more interesting and vital text-books. Surely the sympathetic and clear-sighted teacher has in modern language instruction an almost unexampled opportunity to make his instruction throb with the very pulse of life.

Modern language study can be made, too, and within reasonable limits should be made, a training in good literary taste. There is no reason why it should not foster a discriminating appreciation of what is good in literature and literary form. Some will deny that anything of this sort can be done, or should be done, during the first two years. But the first contention is unjustified, for the simple reason that actual experience has often shown good results. In answer to the second, I do not believe we need say more than that to make the student feel the charm, the artistic significance, even though in a limited degree, will result in winning him more and more to a determined attack upon the drudgery of his task, and in developing a growing interest that can very often be made permanently productive. These results, too, have been so often obtained that it is quite out of order for the grammatical fanatic to decry teaching literature, if you please, to the beginner. Very fortunately we have many beautiful and interesting works, so simple that they are readily accessible

to early study. The French language is well supplied with fables, short stories, and simple lyric poems, of the highest literary merit. German is rich in *Märchen*, lyrics, and short stories of eminent artistic worth, well suited for early reading, both in subject matter and in style. Besides, drama of high literary significance is early available in both languages. There are a host of simple tales and short plays of less literary value in the familiar conversational style of the present day. Many of these works possess an abounding element of wit and humor, so attractive to the young student. The fact that we have so much good literature in both languages that supplies really easy reading contributes decidedly toward making an early appreciation of purely formal artistic merit more readily attainable. We proceed at such a "pace" that the imaginative study of plots and characters becomes possible at an early date. We may bring out, for example, why plots are as they are, what changes may have been or might have been contemplated. Such endeavor can actually be made in some measure a discipline in creative imagination, and possibly may direct gifted minds towards right lines of literary production. So attractive is this sort of effort that teachers of a certain temperament easily err in the direction of over-emphasis. Here, too, as was suggested in the discussion of syntactical drill, a proper balance must be maintained. It is clear, therefore, that modern language study, if intelligently pursued for a reasonable length of time, presents an admirable opportunity for the development of good literary taste.

Important as the appreciation of the formal literary element is, the power to interpret the thought-content of a literary work, to define its significance in the life of humanity and its relation to the progress of civilization, is of still greater consequence. To be sure such knowledge and power can be attained only in a limited degree in the secondary school, but it can be attained in a much greater degree in college when the preparatory school has done its preliminary duty. Here, as elsewhere, the sins of omission of the preparatory school are visited upon the college. What is the significance of such study of literature? The whole disciplinary apparatus we have discussed is employed primarily as a means to enable the student to do just this work in the most pleasant and effective way. The highest type of literary study gives him

a better insight into the problems of character and of human society, of culture and civilization, and the solutions that great men have proposed for these problems. It enables him to think more intelligently, and places him in a position to act formatively, even though in a humble degree, upon the progress of mankind. Literature is the most successful solvent of time and distance. By its magic the past becomes an eternal now and the ends of the world an eternal here. It is the chief battle-ground of grand and majestic spirits, contending for and against the progress of civilization. Within its domains we become eye-witnesses of the fray, and in a measure even participants. Nowhere else can we learn so well the glory and the nobility of man's spiritual endowment, or profit so much by the blunders he has made; for all great problems and all great accomplishments in the manifold spheres of human thinking, feeling, and doing sooner or later find their voice in literature and evoke the answering voice of interpretation. Here they are stated with such simplicity and sympathetic charm that we are enabled to grasp them in a degree and with an ease possible in no other way. It is not hard to agree, therefore, with the wise man who declared that he who gets a new language gets a new soul. Of a truth the man who makes himself master of a great language and its literature has discovered and won by conquest a veritable intellectual continent.

No, we cannot be content with our English literature alone. Splendid though it is, it is but a fragment of the whole. Even this fragment we cannot understand adequately without some knowledge of other literatures. We must not forget that the culture interest of the civilized world is a unit which cannot be divided without mutilation and disaster to all its parts. Though we cannot know all literatures, we need to cultivate those that are comparable with our own. It is as unwise to separate French and German thought, or Greek and Latin thought, from our mental life as it would be to sacrifice a hand or a foot from the human body. There should be within each considerable community a good knowledge of every one of the four literatures I have named, that the common life may be enlarged and beautified. Though no one student may be able to take all of them, each of these four languages should be taught, and seriously taught, in our best secondary schools. Choice may then be made

according to the aim and aptitude of the student. It is surely to be hoped that we may ultimately see students coming to college either with the two modern languages and one classical, or with one classical and two modern languages, as President Eliot so wisely recommends.\* Either combination would be in the highest degree profitable. But any arrangement which excludes either the classical or the modern languages from the secondary curriculum is narrow and seriously defective. Mr. Lowell said in his presidential address before the Modern Language Association, "What I would urge, therefore, is that no invidious distinction be made between the Old Learning and the New, but that the students, due regard being had to their temperaments and faculties, should be urged to take the course in Modern Languages as being quite as good in point of mental discipline as any other if pursued with the same degree of thoroughness and to the same end. And that end is Literature, for there language first attains to a full consciousness of its powers and to a delightful exercise of them. Literature has escaped the doom of Shinar which made this association possible, and still everywhere speaks in the universal tongue of civilized man. And it is only through this record of man's joys and sorrows, of his aspirations and failures, of his thoughts, his speculations, and his dreams that we become complete men, and learn both what he is and what he may be, for it is the unconscious autobiography of mankind."†

But some one will say that you cannot do all that is implied in the secondary school. Of course not. But unless the secondary school shoulders its share of the burden we cannot do it in college either. We must work together, just as the preparatory schools must coöperate with the colleges in classical instruction. In a word, the work of Southern colleges in modern languages is now being seriously crippled by the general failure of our secondary schools to do their proper part of the long and arduous task. Our objector may remark again: "We are not ready yet, we cannot do it thoroughly." But it would be nothing short of a miracle if such work as this could be begun on any considerable scale and still be thoroughly done from the outset. The history of the movement will show a gradual evolution, and not a sudden

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\*C. W. Eliot. *Educational Reform. Essays and Addresses*, p. 116.

†L. c. 21.



perfection. Only in the realms of mythology can Athena spring mature and full-armed from the head of Zeus. The thing to do, therefore, is to begin just as soon as a thoroughly respectable and serious beginning can be made, but no sooner. An ill-considered and slipshod beginning will be rather hurtful than advantageous. That a favorable beginning can be made at an early date in a number of our preparatory schools I am sure. A serious and respectable beginning cannot be made with a course of less than two years, and the best schools should certainly contemplate a three years' course in each language as soon as this shall prove practicable. A student who has had this amount of efficient instruction will be readily able to proceed with the second-year class in college, and one who has had three years of such training should be able to continue very satisfactorily with the third-year class.

Again, our pertinacious objector may say that by far the greater number of the pupils of our secondary schools do not continue their education in college, and that this instruction will be of no use to these pupils. I think it has already been made evident that even as little as two years of good instruction in French and German will supply a vigorous and broad mental discipline. It will provide some knowledge of the character and point of view of the people whose language and literature is being studied. It will give some measure of knowledge of several notable literary works, and a general impression that carries far beyond these works. It will provide training in literary taste. It will place before the student a number of notable character portrayals, which will have a distinct value under the guidance of the conscientious teacher in clarifying the mind of the pupil on various ethical problems. Thus the interpretation of the content of a work of art comes to have, among other advantages, a manifest bearing upon conduct, and signal value in character-building. It will enable him to read simple French or German. A three years' course will greatly increase the benefits in all these respects, and can be made, moreover, to yield a considerable facility in understanding, and some ability in speaking, these languages in a form not too complicated. Such instruction, whether the course be two or three years, will be of great value to the student, even though he does not go to college.

I trust that this burden may rest heavily upon the minds and hearts of all high-minded educators who may have influence in shaping the curricula of our secondary schools, and that speedy and effective work may be done to bring about a better state of affairs—work worthy of comparison with the magnificently fruitful efforts that are now being made at so many points in our educational system.

## The Poetry of Bayard Taylor—An Appreciation

BY EDWARD REINHOLD ROGERS, A. M., PH. D.

Pennsylvania's contribution to American literature would be far from small had Bayard Taylor been the only one of her sons to make writing his life work. The manifold nature of his genius, the versatility of his mind, and the productiveness of his pen made his work sufficient to fill a large place in any literature. In addition to his journalistic work, he wrote books describing his travels in many lands and did his task so well as to overcome the tedium that is usually to be excused in such composition, and with such skill and charm of narration as to give this class of his writings a high rank among modern Mandevilles. And yet these two branches of composition were to him but secondary in importance compared to the supreme allegiance that he gave to the muse of poetry; for though to a later generation his reputation has turned chiefly upon his prose works of travel, to Taylor himself poetry was ever his chosen, though too often neglected, province.

As preliminary to a more minute consideration of Bayard Taylor's poetry, two things should receive our attention: first, his own ideals of what his work should be; and secondly, the merits and excellence of these ideals in themselves. To use his own words, Taylor settles the first of these questions for us by saying that his ideal was "To worship beauty as a thing divine." Here we notice a striking resemblance to another great American poet's theory of poetry. Edgar Allan Poe, too, set beauty as the goal of poetical perfection; but though there is similarity in the two conceptions, there is also a point of difference. Poe's ideal of beauty in verse was defined by the appeal made by that beauty to a reader's appreciation; that is to say, his was the beauty of thought and expression that should find its touchstone in its fitness to charm and captivate a reading public, and consequently the consideration that governed his composition was the adaptation of his work to what men would most admire. Taylor, on the other hand, endeavored to realize beauty for its own sake, rather than with regard to popular appreciation. The question

of how far he attained this ideal of intrinsic beauty is to be considered later; but a comparison of the two ideals themselves leaves little doubt but that the Pennsylvanian attained, at least in theory, the higher conception of the poet's province. While both looked to beauty of form and conception as the poetical *summum bonum*, Taylor's ideal was rather the subjective beauty *per se*, while Poe's was the objective beauty determined by what he believed others would most admire. Philosophically classifying the two conceptions, Poe's ideal is found to be realistic; Taylor's, idealistic. To the former, the poet's goal was reached in adaptation to the æsthetic demands of men; to the latter, that goal was to be attained only in the perfect transference of the subjective beauty of inspiration.

As to the merits of Taylor's ideal of poetry, it should be further noted that his conception was purely æsthetic rather than ethical; and herein lies the cause of his failure to reach the higher level of seriousness and insight into human interests on a wide plane. Had Bayard Taylor possessed the philosophic responsibility of Tennyson or the moral earnestness of Whittier, he might not have been the consummate artist that the English laureate was, but his influence on his native literature would have been far more considerable than it has been. The fact that to the merely æsthetic quality of his poetry, Taylor did not add ethical responsibility and elevation constitutes the chief substantial defect in his work, and, though he could defy Charmian with

"Before thy dangerous beauty I am free,"

he could not boast of freedom from the trammels of an intellectuality lacking in moral obligation to his fellows.

Bayard Taylor's passion for poetry led him to try the wings of his muse in varied flights. In addition to a large number of poems of no special technical class, he wrote long narrative and descriptive works in verse, a translation of "Faust," odes, pastorals, ballads, martial songs, and other lyric verse. Among the narrative and descriptive poems, the most important are "Prince Deukalion," in which a high level of poetic conception is reached, but not sustained throughout; the "Prophet," in which realism too often passes into commonplace; "The Masque of the Gods," where the poet's lack of ethical quality leads to an inadequate treatment of his theme; "The Picture of St. John," in which

Taylor's intimate acquaintance with art is shown; "The Temptation of Hassan ben Khaled," and "Lars, a Pastoral of Norway," whose every line is vital with the pure, grand strength of Scandinavia. The two poems last named are perhaps the best specimens of Taylor's narrative work, and either of them would do credit to any poet of any time.

Bayard Taylor was gifted as a linguist and to his poet's knowledge of a poet's thought he brought an intimate acquaintance with the German language that made his translation of Goethe's "Faust" a wonderful product of learned and sympathetic interpretation. His retention of the metres of the original is one of the important methods of securing a faithful transference of spirit, and this was done with little evidence of cramped construction or unnecessary inversion. On the whole, his is perhaps the best translation of the German work into English, and it is a fitting tribute from one who spoke of Goethe as

"The man who, most of men,  
Heeded the parable from lips divine,  
And made one talent ten."

Taylor's war-time poetry is not artistically equal to his narrative and lyric verse; but, in spite of lifeless lines now and then, and though prosaic expressions and metrical crudities mar some stanzas, there is sometimes a true ring that tells of a kinship with the best of the school of Tyrtæus and that bears comparison with his own best work in other fields. The defects of this class of his poetry are obtrusive in the poem called "Scott and the Veteran," while in the militant strength of the vigorous poem called "March" is to be found an example of his very best work. Witness such a stanza as,

"Then from thy mountains, ribbed with snow,  
Once more thy rousing bugle blow,  
And East and West, and to and fro,  
Announce thy coming to the foe,  
March!"

The "Odes" show less of spontaneity than we find in the other poems, and are too often merely perfunctory performances for stated occasions. This characteristic is evident and prominent in the "Gettysburg Ode" and in the ode beginning "Victor Emanuel!—of prophetic name," but there is a freer treatment and a more

inspired handling of his subject in the odes "To Goethe" and "To Shakspeare's Statue." In the ode to William Cullen Bryant, entitled "Epicædium," Taylor shows an appreciation of the moral earnestness that he himself lacked, and there is no trace of the bitterness that often lurks between the lines of one poet's tribute to another, yet the last line of the poem could well be interpreted as a true statement of the unprogressive nature of the author of "Thanatopsis," whose "first word was noble as his last."

The pastoral poems and the ballads rank next to the lyrical works in beauty and naturalness of conception and execution. This is especially true of the "Pennsylvania Ballads," and among them "The Quaker Widow" commands peculiar attention by virtue of the unpretentiousness of style with which the very spirit of the Quaker life is reproduced. Then, too, in "The Holly Tree" there is a true note and a good; for no one who knows what life in the country is will fail to see the charm in

"The corn was warm in the ground, the fences were mended and made,  
And the garden-beds, as smooth as a counterpane is laid,  
Were dotted and striped with green where the peas and radishes grew,  
With elecampane at the foot, and comfrey, and sage, and rue."

The "California Ballads and Poems" come fresh from the far west; but, though there is richness of description and originality of treatment, the poems are inferior in both respects, not only to others of his own poems, but also to the somewhat similar works of Joaquin Miller and Bret Harte. In Taylor's work there is more evidence of a distinctly Spanish influence which sometimes betrays him into over-use of Spanish names and settings, while the later writers tell of a maturer life that is more unique and less like a transplanted Mexican society and scenery.

The highest expression of Bayard Taylor's poetical genius is to be sought in his lyric verse. From the very nature of this class of poetry we expect to find here more of the poet's self than would be expressed in other kinds of verse. This is pre-eminently true of Taylor's lyric poetry; and not only is it his best self-expression, but it is also, objectively considered, the best product of his pen. There are not many lyrics in our language that surpass, in purely æsthetic quality, the story of young Hylas as Bayard Taylor has told it. Skilfully employed onomatopœia, with artistic rhyme and alliterative effects, make the poem a fine

example of sustained sensuous expression, and no little part of the poem's charm is due to this element in its composition. Who does not feel the beauty of this description of the "young and rosy Hylas" swimming in the Scamander, where, with the magic touch of genius, prosaic swimming is transformed to appear in poetic imagery?

"There, as he floated, with a rapturous motion,  
The lucid coolness folding close around him,  
The lily-cradling ripples murmured, 'Hylas!'  
He shook from off his ears the hyacinthine  
Curls, that had lain unwet upon the water,  
And still the ripples murmured, 'Hylas! Hylas!'"

This rhythmic interpretation of the myth of Hylas is by no means solitary as a specimen of Taylor's lyric art, for there are many others of nearly, if not quite, equal beauty. In fact, one of our leading critics has said that "Euphorion" is "the highest reach of Taylor's lyrical genius;" and, although we may not agree with this opinion, we readily recognize the unusual charm of the poem. The poet writes the deep expression of his sympathy for friends who have lost a darling child whose life had been

"Like incense blown from April flowers  
Beside the scarred and stormy tree."

Only a true heart and a true poet could write such loving words so beautifully appropriate and withal so naturally and unaffectedly expressed. It is hard to select from so much that is beautiful, but the fifth stanza will serve to illustrate the tone and warmth of the poem. Let us notice, too, that in this poem Taylor is touched with the magic wand of that ethical quality whose lack narrows so much of his intellectually fine work. See how the poet's inspiration realizes and transmutes the miraculous alchemy of love, the wonder-worker,

"For, through the crystal of your tears,  
His love and beauty fairer shine;  
The shadows of advancing years,  
Draw back, and leave him all divine."

Of the other lyrics, the "Metempsychosis of the Pine" is not only a truly lyric production inwrought with the æolian harmonies that the tree-tops know, but it is also characteristically

American; just as "Kubleh," on the other hand, is typically oriental and transfused with the spirit of the East. Both of these poems possess rare merit of artistic form and of matter. The last named, "Kubleh," is a type not only of a large class of Taylor's poems, but also of what might be called his peculiar genius. That is to say, the whole nature of the man, his poetic æstheticism, his ardor and emotional quality, and his varied moods, all are distinctly oriental in style; and it is probably from this fact that we should find the explanation of the vigor and naturalness of his poems of the East. Many examples could be cited to support this opinion, and numerous poems could be named that would show not only his fondness for such themes, but also his marvellous skill in his treatment of them. "Amram's Wooing" and the "Bedouin Song" are veritable incarnations of the spirit of the desert, and neither could have sprung from a mind of other than sub-tropical sympathies.

If Bayard Taylor's time and attention had been confined to poetry instead of being dissipated over a large field of literary and diplomatic labor, it might have been that in him Poe and Longfellow would have had a most dangerous, if not a successful, rival for the supremacy in American poetry. However that may be, it is clearly evident that to this dissipation of energy may be traced many of the most serious deficiencies of Taylor's poetry taken as a whole. On the other hand we cannot agree with a recent writer who has said that Bayard Taylor was "the most versatile of authors;" for doubtless there have been many men of wider versatility. We should hardly exaggerate, however, should we say that probably in no other case has versatility of literary production been responsible for so much that might have been, and triumphed over by so much that is, of true poetical excellence.



## Massachusetts and the New England Confederation—II.

BY HELEN HENRY HODGE

The unity of the New England Confederation was, on another occasion, even more threatened than during the Springfield dispute. This occurred in 1653, when the commission was practically deadlocked over the question of the declaration of war against the Dutch. Trouble between the Dutch and the settlers at New Haven and Connecticut was, by no means, an unusual matter, and, although the boundary line between them had been settled in 1650 by a board of commissioners, each was constantly on the alert for trouble. This state of apprehension was increased by the "hostile injuries"\* inflicted by the Dutch on the New Haven settlement on the Delaware, and by the declaration of war between Holland and England in 1652. Matters were brought to a crisis by the rumor in May, 1653, "that the Dutch governor was endeavoring, by presents and other methods, to engage the Mohawks and the Indians between Hudsons river and the Delawar to fall upon the English."† Though the only authority for this report was Uncas, the friendly Mohegan, and testimony of that character, it was enough to arouse New Haven and Connecticut. But the more moderate Massachusetts magistrates, desiring to prevent an unnecessary war, arranged for an investigation, and for a special meeting of the commissioners. The accused chiefs, when questioned, denied any knowledge of such a conspiracy, and the Dutch governor also in "a long letter exculpated himself . . . from any plots or designs against them."‡

As however the commissioners, when they met in May, were still in favor of war, the Massachusetts court, equally obstinate for peace, proposed "a consultation" between a committee of the deputies and "the Gentlemen the commissioners taking in the advise of such elders as shalbe present at time appoynted." This was agreed to, and at the "consultation" the views of the com-

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\*Hazard II., 171.

†Hutchinson I., 181.

‡Hutchinson I., 181.

missioners were presented by Governor Eaton, and those of the general court by Major-General Denison. Eaton, in a very fiery speech, demanded war, while Denison and the elders both declared that the evidence did not justify its declaration. "Upon serious and conscientious examination of the proofs produced," the elders decided, "we cannot find them so fully conclusive as to clear up present proceeding to war before the world, and to bear up our hearts with that fulness of persuasion that is meet in commending the case to God in our prayers and to his people in our exhortations." On the day after, the deputies of the general court also sent in this opinion to the commissioners, that "we doe not understand wee are called to make a present warr with the Duch; yett Judge itt meet that something should be done to make provision for ourselves and confederates by sending . . . messengers to Require satisfaction for wrongs and injuries done and to demand securities from them for the future."<sup>\*</sup>

This plan had as a matter of fact, been tried, and since early in April a commission had been sent to New Amsterdam. Unfortunately they could arrive at no satisfactory agreement with Stuyvesant, but, on the other hand, all the evidence collected by them was rather against the theory of a plot. Moreover, the governor had even offered to make with England "a defensive and offensive war against all Indians and natives, and other enemies, disturbers of the good inhabitants of both provinces."<sup>†</sup> In spite of this evidence, and of the opposition of Massachusetts, "the commissioners themselves were all of the same mind" in their desire for war, "except Mr. Bradstreet, one of the Massachusetts commissioners." "But their proceedings were interrupted by a declaration sent in by the general court of the Massachusetts 'that no determination of the commissioners, though they should all agree, should bind the general court to join in an offensive war which should appear to such general court to be unjust.'"<sup>‡</sup> The court likewise protested that "the commissioners of the United Collonies are not . . . invested with power to conclude an offensive warre."<sup>§</sup> Their authority was limited to wars in defence of their homes and territory. To this, the commissioners replied,

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<sup>\*</sup>Hazard II., 250-4.

<sup>†</sup>Ibid II., 233-249.

<sup>‡</sup>Hutchinson I., 182.

<sup>§</sup>Massachusetts Records IV., part I., 142.

"They knew well that noe authoritie or Power . . . doth or ought to hold against God or his commands. But they conceive that that is not the question here. . . . They conceive this Generall Court Resolves from time to time to judge not onely of the justice but of the convaincencye of what the Commissioners conclude . . . for that though the Commissioners determine upon grounds good and safe in themselves yett their conclusion . . . Shall in one court or other bee still liable to doubt and question which apparently tends to breake the confederacyon."\*

This stand of Massachusetts greatly aroused the other members of the confederation, especially New Haven. The assembly of that colony even considered dissolving the union, for when it was asked, whether, "in case the Massachusetts colony would not revoke their interpretation they had given of the Articles of Confederacy, the commissioners should meet at the usual time, . . . the Court declared by vote that, in case that interpretation were not called in, they saw no cause why they should meet."† But as neither Connecticut nor Plymouth was willing to adopt such an extreme policy, it was abandoned by New Haven, and the commissioners from all four colonies came together as usual, at Boston on the first of September. Their first act was to send the answer, which has been noted, to the Massachusetts court, which in reply, merely reiterated its former statement. The commissioners then declared that "noe collonie within the covenant of Confederacon may to the prejudice of the Rest Reject the determinations of the Commissioners not manifestly unjust." To conclude, they sent almost a threat to dissolve the union, for though they "protest . . . Reddines . . . to attend to our duty in the present meeting . . . If you [the Massachusetts court] . . . please to express your Resolutions to continue the Just power of the commissioners . . . ; if not they desire without further loss of time . . . to Returne to theire other occasions."‡ To this ultimatum, Massachusetts sent the following curt answer: "we see no reason to protract time in fruitless and needless Returns; we shall acquiesce in our last Paper, and comit the sucess to God." But that their "true meaning" might be "rightly

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\*Hazard II., 274.

†New Haven Records II., 4-14.

‡Hazard II., 279.

understood by . . . the commissioners" they sent a vote of the assembly, that was practically a surrender. "The court . . . doth declare, that they judge and grant, that . . . so farr as the determination of the commissioners are just and according to God, the several colonies are bound before God and men to act accordingly, and that they sinne and break covenant if they doe not; but otherwise, they judge they are not bound, neither before God nor men." This submission was "so farr" accepted by the commissioners, that they agreed to refer any further discussion of the question "to the other Generall Courts," and not to dissolve the union.\*

This temporary truce was made on the tenth of September, but unfortunately it was broken before the end of the month. Only two days after its establishment, the rumor reached New England of an attack by the Nyantics upon some friendly Long Island Indians. Investigations were at once begun by the commissioners, with the result that on the twentieth of that month, they voted for war, and laid a levy on each of the four colonies. The magistrates of Massachusetts, however, resolved that "they did not see sufficient grounds . . . ; and therefore dared not to exercise their authority to levy force within their jurisdiction to undertake a present war against Ninigret." This was sufficient to renew the discussions in the confederacy, and the commissioners of Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth voted not only for war against the Nyantics, but against the Dutch as well. Moreover, the old question of the interpretation of the articles of confederation was again taken up, for the commissioners resolved that they "did generally conceive that the interpretation . . . of Massachusetts . . . did directly tend to the breach of . . . confederation . . . made betwixt the collonies; but because the Massachusetts had then neither passed nor done any acts directly crossing any . . . Determination of the commissioners fully passed by vote . . . the commissioners thought fitt to proceed in the vocations of the collonies . . . ; but the Massachusetts refusing to acte . . . in raising men to be sent against Ninigrett . . . ; They apprehended the Massachusetts have actually broken their covenant."†

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\*Hazard II., 279-283.

†Hazard II., 295-8

The Massachusetts court of deputies then wrote to the several assemblies of smaller colonies, proposing "a committee to be chosen by each jurisdiction, to treat and agree upon such explanation or reconciliation of the articles of confederation as should be consistent with their true meaning."\* The courts replied, however, that Massachusetts had committed "a breach of league and covenant;" and that they saw "no cause . . . for explication or alteration of any of the articles."† As Hutchinson says, a dissolution of the union was only prevented by the "inability" of the smaller colonies "to stand alone." Indeed the "government of New Haven were so sensible of their danger, that they sent their agents to England, to make a representation of it to Cromwell, who ordered three or four ships with a small number of forces for the reduction of the Dutch, and recommended to the Massachusetts colony to afford their assistance." The effect of the Protector's letters was miraculous, for the general court found at once that "with safety to the liberty of their consciences," they could "give liberty to his Highness's commissioners, . . . to raise within our jurisdiction . . . five hundred volunteers."‡

This letter of Cromwell also influenced the attitude of Massachusetts at the next meeting of the commissioners at Hartford in August of that year. There her representatives formally declared the retraction of her former statements. "We do hereby," they stated, "profess it to be our judgments . . . that the commissioners, or six of them, have power, according to the articles, to determine the justice of all wars, etc.; that our General Court hath and doth recall that interpretation of the articles which they sent to the commissioners at Boston, . . . and do acknowledge themselves bound to execute the determination of the commissioners, . . . , so far as the said determinations are in themselves just and according to God." This submission was accepted by the other colonies, "provided the General Court of the Massachusetts . . . should certify . . . their consent thereunto,"§ which it did at its next meeting.|| However, the colony did not have to give a practical demonstration of its surrender, as before

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\*Hazard II., 304.

†Connecticut Records I., 248-9.

‡Hutchinson I., 182-3.

§Hazard II., 307.

||Mass. Records IV., part I., 202.

its levy could be raised peace was declared between Holland and England. But, on the other hand, in the following September the Massachusetts commission cast its vote, with the other colonies, for war against the Nyantics. . . . The independence and insolence of Uncas rendered imposible any other course.

In consideration of the attitude of Massachusetts during this long controversy, a strong doubt arises as to whether the colony was actuated primarily by the high ethical motives it alleged. The theory of Hutchinson seems more probable—that it was contrary to the interests of the Bay colony to engage in the war. As he says, "The Massachusetts complied with Cromwell's proposal to extirpate the Dutch, notwithstanding their former scruples as to the lawfulness of it."\* Moreover, his refusal to obey the orders of the confederation did undoubtedly, as the smaller colonies declared, endanger the union. If the testimony of the witnesses was authentic, a war against the Dutch was, without doubt, justifiable. The decision as to the reliability of that evidence was certainly within the province of the commissioners, for if, as they themselves argued, each court could sit in judgment, and in case of a disagreement of opinion, refuse to obey the orders of the confederacy, the latter's authority was a mere formality. Again, the attempt to limit the power of that body to declarations of defensive wars, was certainly a misinterpretation of the articles of confederation.†

But, on the other hand, it is not surprising that Massachusetts should refuse to engage in this war, when the only proof of its necessity was based on Indian testimony—evidence notoriously unreliable. As Major-General Denison put it, "We find the Duch Governor and Fiscall accused and charged by some Indians their neighbours parte of whome by theire owne confession were formerly att Enmetie with them."‡ During this long period of controversy, also, between Massachusetts and the confederacy, no new proof of a conspiracy was brought to light. Massachusetts was, therefore, asked to contribute more troops than any other member for an expedition that it considered absolutely unnecessary. Moreover, even if the plot were true, she was less exposed

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\*Hutchinson I., 184.

†Hazard II., 5, Classes 4, and 5, of Articles of Confederation.

‡Hazard II., 252.

than the other, and yet must bear the greater part of the expenses. On the other hand an unnecessary war, would mean a needless loss of her trade and harassing of her coasting vessels by the Dutch. Even if her refusal to take part in the war threatened the continuance of the union, it without doubt saved the colonies from a useless and perhaps most disastrous war. Peace might have been made readily with the Dutch, with the news of the peace in Europe, but prolonged trouble might have resulted from stirring up the Indians.

Indeed, it may be said with safety, that on the whole the three smaller colonies gained more than they lost by the presence of Massachusetts in the confederation. If at times the larger colony stood on its extreme rights, there was generally some justice in its claims. Though it sought occasionally to weaken the confederation, by its influence it gave the united colonies a position of importance among the neighboring peoples, and also contributed more than half to all their expeditions and enterprises. Nor should its work as arbitrators between the Dutch and the English settlers be forgotten. Moreover, it must be said in defence of this colony, that it was Connecticut and not Massachusetts that, more than any other member, contributed to the dissolution of the union, by her absorption of New Haven—a direct violation of the articles of confederation. Besides, Massachusetts can be no more blamed for her extreme "States right" position, than the smaller colonies for their refusal to grant her proportional representation. The position of each was entirely natural, and certainly not especially blameworthy when one remembers that, even with the lessons of the revolution behind them, the States at the federal convention were guilty of the same errors.

## National Supervision of Negro Education

BY CARL HOLLIDAY, M. A.,

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Mental training, education, is the prime need of the negro of today. But by "education," in this case, is not meant an ornamental knowledge of the fine arts and belles-lettres; on the contrary, the requirement is elementary, manual, industrial training. This cannot be doubted. Every nation, every people, in the history of civilization has risen through at least four distinct and successive stages of development, or education—the agricultural, the manufactural, the commercial, and the classical; and that which has applied to the races of all ages must apply to the black race of today.

A scholar is not produced in a generation. No more can the negro, with his vast ancestry of ignorance and savagery, be expected to become in the course of a few decades a highly refined, cultured and scholarly man. Under present circumstances it were foolishness to thrust upon him the highest forms of education. Rational men eat their beefsteak before their dessert. The negro is today but entering the beefsteak stage of education.

But in the obtaining of the mere rudiments of such training, there are in the way of the black man many obstacles. To start with, there is his indifference—an indifference resulting partly from his own too easily contented nature and partly from the utter lack of opportunity in the centuries of his slavery and the ages of his savagery. The few negroes who have lifted themselves from ignorance are noted *because they are exceptions*; the millions of their brethren do not hunger for culture. Again, the poverty of the South must be accounted as an obstacle. In spite of the truly marvelous advances made in Southern industrial development during the last few years, the value of the average man's possessions in these States is comparatively low. One million people live in one-room log cabins in Georgia. Where war reigns, poverty prevails, and every year of war requires its decade of recovery. Forty years after her four-year struggle the South is but now fairly started on the road to financial stability.



And yet, in spite of the constantly hovering cloud of calamity these States have made mighty and often heroic efforts for the cause of education. The statement of the exact facts about this endeavor would perhaps surprise the readers of other sections. Some four or five years ago, for instance, Massachusetts levied for the sake of education a tax of \$3.63 on every thousand dollars' worth of property. That same year the State of Florida levied for education a tax of \$6.09. But for every thousand that Florida possesses, Massachusetts has her tens of thousands, perhaps her *hundreds* of thousands.

"And Jesus sat over against the treasury, and beheld how the people cast money into the treasury: and many that were rich cast in much.

"And there came a certain poor widow and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing.

"And he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them: Verily I say unto you that this poor widow hath cast more in than all they which have cast into the treasury:

"For all they did cast in of their abundance but she of her want did cast in all she had, even all her living."

The educational development of the Southern people may seem to many but a mite; but, like the widow's mite, it may be glorious with sacrifice. Nevertheless, its smallness is an obstacle to the enlightenment of the negro.

And still another impediment is in his path. Once for all, it might as well be admitted that the Southern people are at present opposed to giving for the education of the black man an amount proportionate to the colored population. The white citizen argues, perhaps with some justice, that, although the number of blacks may equal or even exceed the number of whites, the negro pays scarcely any school tax or, for that matter, any other tax, and that, therefore, he is not entitled to receive from the school fund a share proportionate to his numbers. Whether or not this be good logic or a strict following of the Golden Rule, the fact remains that, although in several States the negro population approaches or even exceeds fifty per cent., no State gives fifty per cent. of its school fund for negro education. In 1900 ten States south of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi contained 3,981,000 white and 2,420,000 colored children of school

age. It would seem, therefore, that the negro should receive more than three-eighths of the public school money; but the actual per cent. is far different. In Alabama, where the number of children of school age is almost equally divided between the whites and the blacks, the negro obtains scarcely more than fifteen per cent. of the income for public education. Under such conditions the mental development of the negro is a matter not of years but of ages.

The black man is fast becoming a national charge. However brilliant the career of some few exceptions may be, the vast majority are financially little better and morally much worse than in the days of their slavery. In most of the Southern States they are practically disfranchised, and at the present rate of their educational growth, their sons and their grandsons after them will hardly be voters!

Since, then, the negro is so nearly a national charge, the burden of his uplifting should fall upon the nation as a whole. For forty years the South has struggled with this problem, but poverty and inborn prejudice have prevented a fair solution. The task is too great to be assumed by so few States. In 1900 there were in the ten States noted about 10,400,000 white people and 6,000,000 blacks. Is it wise, is it even sensible to expect such a small number of communities so sparsely populated, so undeveloped, to lift 6,000,000 people, toward whom they bear an undying prejudice, from a condition of degradation to one of enlightenment? Surely this is a question of such magnitude as to be entitled to consideration as a national problem.

If, therefore, the education of the black man is a national issue, it should be under the supervision of the nation, and the expense should be borne by the nation at large. How can this be brought about? There seems to be but one way—national legislation. A law, somewhat after this manner, seems at present practically and, surely to all concerned in the progress of the South, acceptable:

1. In any State passing laws compelling all negroes between the ages of six and twelve to attend school and also appointing the necessary officers for the enforcement of these laws (such officers to be paid by the State), the national government shall establish such schools for negro children, the expense of which

shall be paid by the government, all teachers to be examined and appointed by the government, the curriculum of studies to be arranged by the government, and the supervision to be entirely in the hands of the national government.

2. In States passing such laws, the school tax paid by the negro population shall go to the national government for the purpose of negro education.

3. This national supervision of negro education shall cease in any State when the percentage of taxable property owned by negroes in that State shall equal or exceed the percentage of negro population.

4. For this supervision a bureau shall be established, to be known as the Bureau of Negro Education, and an official shall be placed in charge, to be known as the Commissioner of Negro Education.

The final question is the cost of such a system. A rough estimate of this can be obtained from the figures already given. As mentioned above, there are in ten of the Southern States about 3,500,000 colored children of school age; that is, between the ages of five and twenty.

Suppose that nearly the same amount be spent in the elementary education of the black child as is expended on all kinds of public education for the average Southern white child—an amount averaging between three and four dollars—it would require for the education of every negro child in these ten States about \$8,000,000 annually. For the training of negro children who would be compelled to attend—those between the ages of six and twelve—the amount should be much less.

This may indeed seem a large sum, but surely in the effort to lift a people from the very depths of ignorance and vice, it is no exorbitant price. Moreover, as all school tax paid by the negro would come to the government for this purpose, each State system would gradually become self-supporting and at length pass from the department's supervision. Thus, within a few years, the cost to the nation, instead of increasing, should, as the value of negro property becomes greater, constantly decrease; and again, if this be too great an expenditure for the government to undertake, how can a handfull of undeveloped States be expected to

assume it? Yet, if the negro is ever to be lifted from ignorance this amount of money, *and more*, must come from some source.

Nations should be compared according to their lowest classes. A regiment can be no better than the worst part of it. No matter how much one class is educated, no matter how splendidly literature and arts flourish, if there are within a nation millions enslaved by ignorance and degradation, that nation is rotten at the core. This multitude of unprogressive people within our borders is at least a public hindrance, if not a national menace. The education of the negro is a national problem; its solution lies in national supervision.

## A Costly Pension Law—Act of June 27, 1890

BY WILLIAM H. GLASSON,

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On June 27, 1890, President Benjamin Harrison approved a pension law which, in its operation, has proved the most costly measure of the kind ever enacted. Already eight hundred and thirty-seven millions of dollars have been spent in its execution and the billion dollar mark will soon be passed. In the last annual report of the Commissioner of Pensions it is stated that there is no law granting service-pension to any person for service rendered since 1858. Notwithstanding this statement, the act of 1890 has been so interpreted and executed as to make it as much of a service-pension law as some of the earlier measures to which that title has been generally conceded. It grants pensions for a prescribed length of military service in the civil war subject to a limitation—that of the existence of some disability *not of service origin*. Other so-called service-pension acts have based the limitation on age or indigence. The act of 1890 has been itself, by process of amendment and interpretation, made into a service and age pension law similar to the Mexican war act of January 29, 1887.

Prior to 1890 no pensions were granted to civil war soldiers except for disability *directly traceable to military service*. The original rate for total disability (which was understood as total inability to perform manual labor) was fixed by the law of July 14, 1862, at eight dollars a month for a private soldier, with rates for officers ranging up to thirty dollars a month. When a soldier died from causes of service origin, his widow was granted the total disability pension corresponding in amount to her husband's rank. The right to receive this was terminated by her re-marriage. By the act of March 19, 1886, the rate of pension paid the widow of a private soldier was increased from eight to twelve dollars per month in the case of all widows who had married the soldier prior to that date. An extra allowance of two dollars per month has also been made for each child of a deceased soldier until the age of sixteen years is reached.

By the establishment and development of a system of fixed rates for specific disabilities, the allowances to civil war invalid pensioners have been remarkably increased. The original total disability rate was eight dollars a month. That is the amount now paid for a stiffened wrist, or for the loss of a thumb, or for the loss of the great and second toes. Rates range from six dollars a month—the smallest amount paid to any invalid pensioner—to one hundred dollars a month for the loss of both hands or of both feet or of the sight of both eyes. These rates are fixed either directly by law or by the ruling of the Commissioner of Pensions under authority of law. For instance, acts were passed by congress in 1903 which established many new and increased ratings. Among them are the following: total deafness, forty dollars a month; the loss of a hand or a foot, forty dollars a month; the loss of a leg at or above the knee, forty-six dollars a month; the loss of an arm at the shoulder joint, fifty-five dollars a month; the loss of a hand and a foot, sixty dollars a month; the loss of both feet, one hundred dollars a month. The loss of the sight of both eyes was pensioned at one hundred dollars a month from April 8, 1904.

A single example illustrates the ever increasing generosity of the invalid-pension system since the civil war. In the navy, prior to March 4, 1861, the loss of both arms in the line of duty would have entitled the pensioner to but three and a half dollars a month. But, under the civil war ratings, the loss of both *hands* in either military or naval service has been pensionable at eight dollars a month, beginning with July 14, 1862; at twenty-five dollars a month from July 4, 1864; at thirty-one and a quarter dollars a month from June 4, 1872; at fifty dollars a month from June 4, 1874; at seventy-two dollars a month from June 17, 1878; and at one hundred dollars a month from February 12, 1889.

On June 30, 1904, the number of invalid pensioners enrolled under the general law, exclusive of Spanish war pensioners, was 240,785, and, likewise, the number of widows' pensions—the death of the husband being from causes of service origin—was 85,371. These pensions cost for the fiscal year 1904 about \$61,500,000. Large as is this amount, it is nearly ten million dollars less than the cost of executing the single act of June 27, 1890, for the same year.

Notwithstanding the great and growing liberality of the above

mentioned invalid-pension provisions under what is known as the general law, a strongly organized effort to secure service-pensions for the soldiers of the civil war was inaugurated in the eighties. A paragraph in President Cleveland's annual message for 1886 was taken in congress to commit him to the approval of a limited service-pension bill. Accordingly there was passed in 1887 a measure known as the Dependent Pension Bill. This measure President Cleveland vetoed in a noteworthy message to congress, claiming that the bill as passed did not conform to the conditions and limitations suggested by him.

The continued agitation for service-pensions had an important bearing upon the presidential campaign of 1888. The republican national platform of that year condemned President Cleveland's attitude towards pension legislation, referred to the existence of an "overflowing treasury," and called for such additional laws as to "provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the federal uniform should become an inmate of an almshouse or dependent upon private charity." In September, 1888, the national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic passed resolutions asking for the enactment of service-pension legislation "in accordance with established usage." The political bearing of the pension question was that year strikingly illustrated in the doubtful State of Indiana, where the republican candidate for governor was General A. P. Hovey, president of the Service Pension Association of the United States. Indiana was carried for the republican State and electoral tickets.

The inauguration of the new republican administration was followed by a concerted movement of the organized soldiers to secure from congress service-pension legislation. Charged with the responsibilities of government, the republican leaders sought to satisfy the demand without going to the extreme of a general service-pension law. A compromise measure was agreed upon. This was the act of June 27, 1890, which was in many respects similar to the Dependent Pension Bill which President Cleveland had vetoed. The cost of the new law was estimated by its friends at from \$35,000,000 to \$41,000,000 a year, and by its opponents at from \$56,000,000 to \$79,000,000. It was a new departure in the pensioning of civil war soldiers, and an extraordinarily expensive system of pensions has been developed under its authority.

The act of 1890 grants pensions to those who served ninety days or more in the army or navy of the United States during the civil war and were honorably discharged. An applicant must, however, be suffering from a mental or physical disability of a permanent character, not the result of his own vicious habits, which incapacitates him from the performance of *manual labor* in such a degree as to render him unable to earn a support. His disability need have no connection with military service nor does the fact that he can and does obtain a support otherwise than by *manual labor* disqualify him. An amendment of May 9, 1900, facilitates proof of disability by providing that "each and every infirmity shall be duly considered and the aggregate of the disabilities shown be rated." The rate is graded from six to twelve dollars a month in proportion to the pensioner's inability to support himself. A disability that, under the general law, would entitle an invalid pensioner to thirty dollars a month is regarded as sufficiently serious to secure the maximum rate of twelve dollars under the act of 1890. The widow of any person who fulfilled the above service requirement is entitled to a pension of eight dollars a month, regardless of the cause of the soldier's death, but subject to the proviso that she is without means of support other than her daily labor and (amendment of May 9, 1900,) an actual net income not exceeding \$250 a year. If a deceased soldier leaves minor children, the widow is granted an extra allowance of two dollars a month for each of the children until they respectively reach the age of sixteen years. A widow is not pensionable under the law of 1890 unless she married the soldier prior to the passage of that law, and she loses the pension upon re-marriage.

From an examination of the above provisions it will be seen that the act of 1890 provides at the public expense for the favored class of citizens what amounts to an insurance against permanent disability due to accident or disease. Take as an illustration the case of a business man who served for a short time in the civil war and received no injury as a result of that service—perhaps, may never have been engaged in active military operations. Twenty years after the war he loses a forearm or hand in a railway accident. Under the operation of the act of 1890 he has a clear title to a pension of twelve dollars a month for life, regardless of his wealth, income, or ability to support himself.



He has been disabled for the *performance of manual labor* to the extent required by the Pension Bureau to entitle him to the maximum rate. Of himself, he might not apply for a pension, but he will usually be persuaded to do so by the solicitations of some attorney, eager for a fee, who will point out to him that thousands of others in like situation are receiving pensions. So he obtains from the public treasury an annual amount, equivalent, on a four per cent. basis, to the income from an investment of \$3,600. He may also succeed in recovering heavy damages from the railroad company through whose negligence he was disabled. His capacity to earn a business income may not, however, have been impaired.

Upon the death of a soldier pensioner under the act of 1890, his widow, if she be left with a net annual income not exceeding \$250, becomes entitled from the date of her application to a pension of eight dollars a month. For each of the soldier's children under sixteen years of age she receives an extra allowance of two dollars per month. Under the conditions of the law it is entirely possible that she may not have been born at the time when the period of the soldier's military service terminated. His military service may have been as short as ninety days and may have involved no actual participation in armed conflict. So that in many cases the widow's connection with military service to the government is extremely remote. To aid the widows and fatherless may be the part of Christian charity, but, if it is to be made a national undertaking, it would seem that there should be no unfair discrimination between classes. There should be some much more substantial basis in military service for widows' pensions than the law of 1890 requires.

In the execution of this law the determination of the existence of permanent disability is made by a medical examining board of local practitioners in or near the place where the applicant resides. Its report is subject to review and approval by the medical officers of the Pension Bureau. An expert opinion upon the character of the work of these medical examining boards is given in the following extract from the report of Commissioner of Pensions Evans for the year 1901:

"Medical examiners are appointed and assigned to duty without any knowledge of the law, and practically without any experience or instruction. Our pensioning is unlike any other business or

profession in the world; some get too much, others too little, according to the measure of their disabilities. Tests have been made from time to time to show the unreliability of the very basis of the system of medical examinations that the bureau employes and officials must base their action upon.

"In my annual report for 1898 it was shown where one man was subjected to four test medical examinations practically within twenty-four hours before four different medical examining boards, and he was rated from nothing to \$24.00 (0, \$8.00, \$17.00, 24.00) per month, no two of the boards agreeing and all acting under the same instructions.

"Recently a medical examining board in one of the larger cities, in reporting upon thirty-two consecutive examinations, was discovered as having found each claimant afflicted with heart disease, describing twenty-six as having a 'systolic murmur' and six with a 'diastolic murmur;' otherwise the description might as well, for all intents and purposes, have been printed. Twelve of these thirty-two so examined and reported upon were sent before another medical examining board in the same city (composed of three ex-union soldier surgeons) for test medical examination, this board not knowing the cause or object of the test examination, and no evidence of heart disease was found in either claimant. The medical referee of this bureau was present, and after the medical examining board had completed its examinations the medical referee examined each applicant and confirmed the findings of the board. Another medical board reported out of sixty consecutive examinations that fifty-nine of the claimants had organic heart disease."

It should be added that, in making the above statements, Commissioner Evans disclaimed any desire to reflect upon the honesty and skill of the medical examiners throughout the country. He was pointing out the inadequate and unjust character of the medical examining system and "the impracticability—or impossibility—of making some 1,500 medical examining boards understand the necessary demands of the service."

The illustration of the operation of the act of 1890 which was given on a preceding page shows the applicant with a clear legal title to a pension. No dishonesty or misrepresentation is necessary to secure the allowance of such a claim. But, under the prevailing system of medical examination, abundant opportunities for fraud

are offered to those who wish to simulate various ailments in order to secure the allowance of claims. The amendment of 1900, which provides that "each and every infirmity shall be duly considered and the aggregate of the disabilities shown be rated," makes imposition easier. It virtually says, "add to the loss of a thumb a slight irregularity of the heart and some twinges of rheumatism and you determine to what extent some given man is incapacitated to earn a support by manual labor." With all the ills that flesh is heir to and with complaisant medical boards, it is not difficult for many applicants to obtain pensionable status to which they are not justly entitled. The legally established system of pension administration seems well adapted to facilitate fraud, despite the best efforts of the officers of the Pension Bureau. Attorneys, too, are on the alert to hunt out every possible applicant for a pension and to persuade those who hesitate that they are as much entitled to assistance from an overflowing treasury as others who are already receiving it. A man must be honest, indeed, to resist these importunities, even though he might be readily passed by an insurance medical examiner as an excellent risk. The result is that there are hundreds of thousands of our citizens pensioned under this act, a large proportion of whom seem to be at no material disadvantage in earning a livelihood—even by manual labor—when compared with others of the same age and occupation.

On June 30, 1904, there were 450,007 ex-soldiers pensioned under the act of June 27, 1890, as amended by the act of May 9, 1900. The number of widows pensioned under authority of the same laws was 168,589. The following table gives the cost of executing the act of 1890 from its enactment to the present:

Year ending June 30.	Year ending June 30.
1891.....\$ 8,907,636.77	1898.....\$ 66,255,670.67
1892..... 51,407,971.32	1899..... 64,321,460.77
1893..... 68,259,537.18	1900..... 65,766,079.35
1894..... 57,900,173.54	1901..... 66,973,481.15
1895..... 59,102,335.29	1902..... 67,917,312.16
1896..... 58,397,963.72	1903..... 68,798,360.71
1897..... 61,686,732.32	1904..... 71,423,234.86
Total.....	\$837,117,949.81

In the near future the annual cost of the act of 1890 will be increased considerably as the result of an important order which was issued from the Bureau of Pensions to take effect on April 13, 1904. This is known as Order No. 78 and involved an increase in expenditure of less than \$90,000 for the small portion of the fiscal year between April 13 and June 30, 1904. The experience of the fiscal year 1905 will afford a much better basis for the making of an estimate of the ultimate cost of the order.

Order No. 78 marks a broadening of the application of the act of 1890 by process of executive construction. The propriety of that construction has been made an issue in the present presidential campaign. The order declares that "old age is an infirmity the average nature and extent of which the experience of the Pension Bureau has established with reasonable certainty." It therefore provides that "in the adjudication of pension claims under said act of June 27, 1890, as amended, it shall be taken and considered as an evidential fact, if the contrary does not appear, and if all other legal requirements are properly met, that, when a claimant has passed the age of sixty-two years he is disabled one-half in ability to perform manual labor and is entitled to be rated at six dollars a month; after sixty-five years at eight dollars a month; after sixty-eight years at ten dollars a month, and after seventy years at twelve dollars a month." The instructions accompanying this order provide that "a declaration, stating that a claimant is sixty-two, sixty-five, sixty-eight, or seventy years of age, as the case may be, is a sufficient allegation, even if no other disabling cause is set forth." Thus the interposition of the executive power has converted the act of 1890 into a service and age pension act similar to the Mexican war act of January 29, 1887. This action may be legal upon a broad construction of the statutes concerned, but it seems to the writer more sweeping than is warranted by fair interpretation and contrary to good public policy. The attempt to bolster up the order by "whereases" referring to the action of congress in 1887 on behalf of the Mexican war soldiers is aside from the main question. No one will pretend that congress ever intended the act of June 27, 1890, and amendments, to be regarded as a simple service and age pension law. Yet the fact remains that today, in the practice of the Pension Bureau, the man who served ninety

days in the union army in the civil war, was honorably discharged, and has reached the age of sixty-two years, may receive a pension, regardless of health, wealth or ability to provide for his own support. He establishes his age, is deemed to be one-half disabled for manual labor without further investigation, and receives a pension in due course. Reasons of political expediency and a desire to forestall possible expensive service-pension legislation by congress were doubtless influential in causing the issue of Order No. 78, but they lack much of affording proper justification of it.

This recent development of the costly pension system based upon the act of June 27, 1890, leads the writer to repeat with new emphasis what he has said in a previous publication: "This system does not provide a national gratuity or dignified form of poor relief for indigent and infirm veterans, for it makes no inquiry regarding the soldier's property or income. It pensions alike rich and poor, prosperous and unprosperous. It is not a reward for long and meritorious service in the army, for it places the three months' man upon the same basis as the soldier who fought through the whole war. Nor is it a compensation for injuries and disease contracted in the camp and on the battlefield, for it pensions for all disabilities, whenever incurred, except those resulting from vicious habits. It is unsound in principle, loose in expression, and frequently absurd in application. Taxpayers are required to bear an extravagant and unjust burden to insure a privileged class against serious accident or disability. Such a system stimulates dishonesty and dependence, fails to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving, and prevents the pension list from being, as it should be, a roll of honor."

## A Revival of Interest in North Carolina History

Of all the *ante-bellum* period of North Carolina's history the decade from 1850 to 1860 saw the most considerable output of books on the State's history. During this time one saw published Dr. Hawks's excellent "History of North Carolina," Wheeler's "Sketches of North Carolina," Caruthers's two volumes of "Revolutionary Incidents," McRee's valuable "Life of James Iredell," Reichel's "Moravians in North Carolina," Purefoy's "Sandy Creek Baptist Association," and various other books of less importance. It was then, also, that Governor Swain at the State University was creating a genuine enthusiasm for the study of our past and printing as a result of it numerous valuable papers in *The University Magazine*. The movement was something of an efflorescence of forces long hidden in the slow material development of the State. It was the best thing in North Carolina history before the war.

One of the effects of the war was to arrest this development. The leisure class are ever the supporters of literature, and they had been dealt a hard blow in the social upheaval of the times. Whatever literary impulse manifested itself in the new days of free labor was of a reminiscent nature. It sang and wept about the universal calamity. It was the formless murmuring of grief. It made some verses and some romances, and paid some tributes to our war heroes; but it did not readily regain its own poise. In 1860 we had just come to appreciate the task of studying our development. Swain and Hawks had given us the standard of solid and truthful self-examination and stimulated us to desire to undertake it. The war took all of this from us and it must be some years before we should again be at the stage at which we could resume the interrupted process.

It was not, in fact, till 1886 that the first signs of a revival of adequate historical research began to appear. In that year Col. William L. Saunders, secretary of state, began to publish under the authority of the legislature the "Colonial Records of North Carolina." This series, which was completed in ten quarto volumes in 1890, is the basis of our future historical study. It

is true that the editing of this work was not considerable. It is also true that it did not contain quite everything which might have found a place in it. But it contained a vast amount which was not formerly accessible; and the student who is capable of handling it will soon learn the inexpediency of paying much attention to the superficial and valueless "Prefaces" which the good natured editor placed in the beginning of his volumes. The series was carried through the press with infinite pains and devotion; and it fastened itself so closely on the consciousness of the State that it was not hard to get the assembly to vote the funds necessary to continue it in ten additional volumes so as to cover North Carolina history up to 1790, when the State entered the union. This new series will soon be finished; and it is to be hoped that the public will ere long have before them the much delayed and much needed index to the whole. There is no State in the union in which the records of the colonial and revolutionary days have been better treated by the State government. There are not more than three others in which so much has been done. Virginia whose priority of settlement has given her a far greater place in American history has allowed her own records to lie neglected in London while her historians stumble along guessing faintly about her earliest past.

The publication of these "Records" was calculated to stimulate research. They were not through the press before several eager students had seized upon them and begun to reconstruct the history of the State. As an illustration of the impetus which followed it may be noted that in the list of monographs of one American university alone are nine titles which represent work based chiefly on these published "Records." More significant still is the fact that there have been published within two years the six works to which I shall refer, books of considerable magnitude and excellence, and worthy of comparison with works in the similar field of the history of any State in the union. They are written in the modern spirit of research: they have the old time devotion to the cause of North Carolina history; they show marks of healthy local interest in historical matters; they are, in fact, the most considerable contribution to North Carolina history ever made in so short a period. A close examination shows them not without some faults, of course, but thoroughly creditable in spirit, material, and purpose.

Professor Dodd's "Life of Nathaniel Macon,"\* which of all in the group will most readily attract the attention of most people, is a tardy but adequate tribute to the life of the North Carolinian who has been most influential in our national affairs. Macon was long a member of congress and a senator, a favorite of the Jeffersonian school, a prime leader of the strictest group of theoretical republicans, a man of incorruptible integrity, and a worthy exponent of the anti-federalist majority of the North Carolina population. He was not a wise statesman; because he never realized what was the spirit of the times, and because he lived too much in the realm of theory; but he was trusted by the leaders of the nation and if we could but know fully what he knew we should have a remarkably illuminating picture of his times. Professor Dodd has industriously sought out all the material available to him. He has used to advantage the few accessible letters, the records of debates, and the allusions to Macon in other works. It will be a long time before a better discussion of Macon's life is before the public.

On the other hand, many people will not agree with all of the author's conclusions. To begin with, some of them will not unite with him in his admiration of Macon, whose child-like integrity was not always combined with a virile grasp on the situation. Others will not agree that Macon and Randolph had the "Solid South" behind him in 1825 (p. 359). In fact Randolph at least was not very popular in the South at that time. Already unbalanced in his mind he was about to retire in disgust from a senate which had come to look upon him as a joke. Perhaps, also, it is not correct to speak of Randolph as converting, even with the help of events, John C. Calhoun to the cause of States rights (p. 361). Certainly the eccentric sage of Roanoke hated the South Carolinian with an abiding hatred. "Calhoun by this time," he wrote March 28, 1832 (?), "must be in hell. He has fallen into the trap that caught and destroyed Clay."

From the view of national affairs which Professor Dodd gives us we turn to Professor Raper's† accurate and scholarly study of

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\*The Life of Nathaniel Macon. By William E. Dodd, Ph. D. Raleigh, N. C.: Edwards & Broughton, 1903.—xvi, 443 pp.

†North Carolina, a study in English Colonial Government. By Charles Lee Raper, Ph. D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904.—xiii, 260 pp.



North Carolina government and politics during the period of royal control. This book is a clear and intelligent study of the forms of government. It is divided into ten chapters as follows:—A Review of the Proprietary Period; The Governor under the Crown; The Council under the Crown; The Lower House of the Legislature under the Crown; The Territorial System and Administration; The Fiscal System and Administration; The Judicial System and Administration; The System of Defence; The Conflicts Between the Executive and the Lower House under the Crown; and the Downfall of the Royal Government. In the ninth and tenth chapters the treatment departs from the discussion of forms of government and takes up in a narrative way the struggle of the colonials against the king in the last days of the colonial period. This is the first considerable book on the subject since the publication of the "Colonial Records" made the rewriting of North Carolina's colonial history a necessity. Professor Raper is a scientific historian and does not hesitate to put his stamp of disapproval on the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," by classing the resolves of Mecklenburg as somewhat less daring than those of New Hanover and Cumberland counties.

A third volume of the number mentioned is Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood's "Life of Governor Tryon."\* This handsome volume deals with the administration of one of the most attractive personalities who have governed North Carolina. Attractive he was to the men of the colony—among them Sam. Johnston, John Harvey, Richard Caswell, and Cornelius Harnett—and attractive he becomes to the student who, like Mr. Haywood, can see from Tryon's point of view the problems he faced and, by his own ability, overcame. Tryon has suffered much from that patriotic glamour which Caruthers threw over the regulation and the beginnings of the revolution. This Presbyterian pastor was convinced that the regulators were patriots and that many of them were Presbyterians. Persons devoted to other churches have taken respectively the same position; yet Mr. Haywood well shows that both Presbyterian, Baptist, and Quaker organizations repudiated the regulation as a lawless

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\*Governor William Tryon and his Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771. By Marshall DeLancey Haywood. Raleigh, N. C.: E. M. Uzzell, 1903,—223 pp.

organization (pp. 131-3). In a similar rational manner does he treat the incidents of the execution of the prisoners, the passage of the "riotous bill," the recruiting of the army, and the consistency of Maurice Moore. But we can hardly agree with him in his idea of the naming of Alamance Creek. Long before its banks were settled by Germans, Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, described it as "Aramanchy River, a branch of Saxapahaw." Too much praise cannot be given Mr. Haywood and his publishers for the handsome style in which the book is printed and illustrated.

Still another book of the class mentioned in the beginning is Major William A. Graham's "General Joseph Graham and his Papers."\* This volume contains much valuable first-hand material on the local revolutionary struggle in North Carolina. Its author is a grandson of General Graham. He has included in his book a large number of hitherto unpublished family letters. After the revolution General Graham became a major-general of militia and in the war of 1812 commanded the brigade which was sent from the two Carolinas to aid Jackson in his war against the Creeks. He was a man of intelligence, a pioneer in the manufacture of iron in North Carolina, and always had a marked interest in the history of the State. About 1820 Archibald D. Murphey undertook to write a history of North Carolina. General Graham was called upon and furnished much material for the proposed work. But the death of Murphey in 1829, before his task of writing had been well begun, left this material in the shape in which it was prepared. Major Graham has fortunately included it in his book. It makes half of the volume and deals in narrative form with the military events in western and middle North Carolina during the revolution. Numerous illustrations are given. In every respect the book is creditable to the editor and valuable to the student.

Dr. Clewell's "History of Wachovia" is a study of local history.† It deals with the Moravian settlement which Bishop Spangenberg was instrumental in establishing in the upper Yadkin valley at the middle of the eighteenth century. Here the Moravians

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\*General Joseph Graham and his Papers on North Carolina, a Revolutionary History. By Major William A. Graham. Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1904,—385 pp.

†History of Wachovia in North Carolina. By John Henery Clewell, Ph. D. New York: Doubleday Page and Company, 1902,—xiv, 365 pp.

acquired 100,000 acres of excellent land and settled on it a band of thrifty German farmers and artisans. They at first lived after the communal manner which both their old German habit and their singleness of religious purpose tended to promote. In 1771 the common housekeeping was abandoned. This body of people have remained till this day one of the soundest and most thrifty communities in the State. They have never been brought under the influence of slavery and the planter type of living, and in their superior skill in mechanical affairs, their more decided preference for village life, and their greater appreciation of education, they constitute a distinct part of the population. They founded at Salem as early as 1802 an excellent school for girls which has long been known for its superior methods throughout the surrounding region.

Dr. Clewell has made his researches into the local history with great pains and industry. He has given us a reliable picture of local conditions. He has, perhaps, not wrought his materials into a form sufficiently attractive to the general reader. He has certainly kept quite close to the chronological method of treatment. He is, also, not very scientific in his attitude toward the general history of the State. Thus, he accepts without question the disputed point of the "Mecklenburg Declaration," and in spite of the loyalty of the Moravians to Tryon he is inclined to accept the popular opinion that the governor was a bad man. But the book is a thoroughly acceptable record of the life of the Wachovia settlement, it is replete with first hand information on that subject and that, after all, is the chief thing for the student of history.

In the April, 1904, number of the *QUARTERLY* appeared a review of the first volume of "The History of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina," by D. A. Tompkins.\* Since that time there has appeared volume two of the same work. It is devoted to discussions of some of the doubtful points of the history of the county (as the "Mecklenburg Declaration"), to biographical sketches, statistics, and sketches of some of the subordinate towns. Like the first volume it defends stoutly the authenticity of the "Declaration," although it has no important new material in regard to

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\*History of Mecklenburg County, 2 vols. By D. A. Tompkins. Charlotte, N. C.: Observer Printing House, 1903,—xv., 202, and xix., 218 pp.

it. It does, however, contain a respectable list of books relating to the controversy, and for that all must be grateful. Here, as in the other volume, the reviewer must speak with gratification of the considerable attention given to the economic and social history of Mecklenburg. He must also refer to the many excellent illustrations. Apart from the sections which relate to the famous controversy the book is far and away the best history hitherto published of a North Carolina county; but it has not a good index.

## An Author's Fight for His Opinions

BY JOHN RAPER ORMOND

Emile Zola was born in Paris, April 2, 1840. His people were descended from good stock. His father was a civil engineer of note in southern France who dying when Emile was seven years of age left a widow with small means of support. This property was ere long swallowed up in vexatious lawsuits and the boy came to his majority in a condition of absolute poverty. Nothing could be more distressing than his first struggle with Parisian life. Without the faculty of steady and continuous application in the ordinary places of business or mechanical life, he drifted on the surface of the Parisian swirl, pawning this and that article of clothing till at length he was reduced to the necessity of betaking himself to his bed when he had company, because he had no outer clothing to wear. How he managed to live during the year and a half he led this Bohemian existence it is impossible to say. He at last found a steady position in Hachette's publishing house. His duties were merely clerical and his salary was \$20 a month. At last one day he timidly placed a manuscript on the desk of his employer. The result of the venture was a doubling of his salary and a kind word from the employer, but the manuscript was not accepted for publication. Slowly, however, the young man made a place for himself among the literary men of the city. He wrote for newspapers; he attempted poetry and fiction; and ere long he had the satisfaction of making a circle of friends who supported him in his views and of whom he finally became the recognized head.

Zola's views of his art were radically different from those of the majority of writers and readers of fiction. His group called themselves "Naturalists;" in English we have come to call them realists. They believed that it was far better to paint life, particularly the life of evil men and women, in the most natural colors. They contended that by doing this they created a stronger aversion to vice than if they had idealized it in the manner of the other writers. The bareness with which they portrayed the most vicious phases of Parisian society, the bold relief into which they

threw the worst imaginable sins of the worst people, came as a surprise to many people. The other writers particularly objected to this. The press, the literary critics, the religious classes, the formal followers of rules which had long been established, all came down in a most excited manner on the innovators. On Zola, who soon showed his superior ability in depicting real life, they made their fiercest attack. They pronounced him a reveller in filth: they said he degraded French civilization: they denounced his art: they boycotted the papers in which his stories were appearing till the editors of them were fain to call on the author to omit some of the objectionable passages, or till they discontinued to publish them. All the ignominy which hostile opinion anywhere has been able to bring into operation against one from whom it differed was brought into action against the novelist.

But Zola had a definite idea in his head. He meant to give his life to its development. He meant to show what he could do with it. He was not a lover of the obscene for its own sake. He was a well intentioned gentleman who wanted to bring about a reform in manners. He could do it, he believed, by showing just how badly diseased the body of society had become. He would not give up his purpose. He would not let the fires of criticism deter him. He was an apostle of new ideas. For us it does not in this place matter whether his ideals seem to have been the best or not. There is much to be said in favor of them, and much can be said against them. But they were proper ideals in the sense that they were held by people who sincerely sought for progress. His own struggle for them was a proper struggle, therefore, and one which may redeem him personally from any fault which we may find in the nature of his ideal.

Zola planned early in his career a series which came to be known as the Rougon-Macquart novels. He believed that families pass down to their succeeding generations the habits and passions which have been exemplified in their own lives. He thought that men and women become evil by some natural law which follows continuously in the family. He stressed in his theory the importance of heredity, but he did not fail to give weight to the part played by environment. In order to exemplify his theory he proposed to create a fictitious average French family and to

show in a number of novels the fortune of each member of it. He took for a beginning a woman of the middle class who married a man named Rougon. By him she had one son. After his death she contracted a *liaison* with a man named Macquart and by him she had a son and a daughter. She herself was a woman of hysterical disposition. Her children are made to have her own nature and to mingle in their lives her own virtues and faults. Some of the family shall be virtuous and some shall be wicked. There shall be a successful politician, a roué, a murderer, a beautiful and virtuous young woman, a public prostitute, a jolly shopkeeper in the market of Paris, a mine worker, a peasant, a great merchant, and various other persons. The series was planned to include eight volumes, but as it progressed the plan was enlarged till it embraced twenty. When it was completed one had in twenty volumes the most vivid systematic portrayal of human life the world has ever seen. The pictures may have been planned in order to give too much prominence to the evil side of life: they may be too lurid: and the creator of them may have been too pessimistic. But that will take care of itself. There is enough of natural optimism in society to prevent it from committing suicide in despair; and if natural optimism were lacking it would be saved from despair by its vast supply of stupid indifference.

The making of the Rougon-Macquart series was itself the making of Zola. In the first place, it gave him position as one of the leading novelists of Europe. In the second place, it gave him financial independence, although his own lack of thrift was so great that he did not use his means to place himself in a secure position in which he should be relieved of the necessity of work. Most important of all, it gave him the strength which comes to a man when he realizes that he has won a great fight. Zola was not quite the same person after the battle as before it began. It had lasted twenty-four years. It had tested his constancy of purpose, his capacity to ignore his enemies, his ability to resist the reaction of hatred against hatred, and the quality of following his reason without yielding to a storm of passion. While testing these qualities it had developed them.

The Rougon-Macquart series was, of course, not all of Zola's work. Many other things appeared before and after this work—and some appeared while it was being written. But this is not

a discussion of the novelist's literary productions—but of his personal achievement. In that sense he had won his place as a great moral force in France and in Europe. This advantage gained, he was soon put to the test of maintaining such a position in a way which is known to few modern literary men.

In 1897 the Dreyfus affair had become a matter of general discussion in France. This incident was really the result of a process which had for more than five years been tending to its culmination. It grew out of an anti-Semitic feeling which had been stimulated by the ultra-catholic party, the legitimists, and certain financial interests who could not brook the great influence which prominent Jews, as for example, the Rothschilds, had in Parisian business affairs. When certain military secrets had been sold to foreign governments by a scamp named Esterhazy the guilt was fastened on Major Dreyfus, a Jew who was attached to the general staff of the army. The conviction of the Jew was received with unction by the anti-Semitic party, and for some years the public was satisfied. But the family and friends of Dreyfus did not let the matter rest. They persisted in bringing it forward and they found certain friends who aided them. It was at this stage that the affair began to attract general attention, both in and out of France. At this time Zola became interested in it. He was pre-eminently a man of reason. He had no sympathy with the old time prejudices which had made the Jew offensive to the vast majority of Frenchmen. In the face of a great race feeling he kept his head cool and knew how to look steadily for the countenance of truth. He wrote certain letters to the papers.

At length evidence was found to prove that Esterhazy had committed the crime for which Dreyfus was punished. He was accordingly cited before a military tribunal on January 10 and 11, 1898. The court was manipulated by the war department, the trial was conducted with unblushing partiality, and the prisoner was acquitted, as the war office intended. The band of intellectual people and patriots who had followed the proceedings were shocked at so palpable a miscarriage of justice. They were dumfounded and helpless. Here was a crime by the army, a crime against the integrity of the father-land, and no hand was strong enough to wrench the case out of their clutches. The people were prostrate before the military spirit.



Then Zola found a way. He would interfere in the affair in behalf of Dreyfus. He would commit a crime against the army which would lead to his arrest. For this act he would have to be tried before a civil court and there, as he hoped, justice would be done. Saying nothing of his intentions to any person but his wife he wrote his celebrated letter "J'Accuse," "I Accuse." It was directed to the president of the republic, and it was filled with the severest accusations against all who had been concerned with the infamous proceedings. It was published in one of the few papers which were not on the clerical side. Never did the word of a writer on a matter of current importance have a more tumultuous reception. The small paper which contained the appeal sold three hundred thousand copies. Everywhere people talked about what Zola had done. The anti-Semitic party roared. The army writhed and prepared for vengeance. The government had long ago realized that the Dreyfus affair was likely to sweep it off its feet. It was tremblingly afraid that any morning might see army and clerical mob united to overthrow the constitution. Before the storm of indignation which now rushed across the public stage it attempted no opposition. It promptly announced that Zola would be prosecuted.

This was what the novelist had hoped for; but he was to have his trouble for his reward. The civil authorities were powerless before the common hysteria. The false evidence of the army sufficed for the ordinary courts and the verdict went against the daring man who had drawn a tempest down upon himself. The howling multitude expressed their delight. The upper courts were tried in the way of appeals, but all resources were exhausted to no good purpose. Finally Zola saw that no further good was to be accomplished by fighting the monster and he quietly slipped away to England on the night before he was to appear in court for final hearing. Already there were signs of a change of the tide; and he and his friends foresaw that he would soon be able to return in peace. In his trial he had risen to speak in his own behalf. "Everything," he said, "seems to be against me; the two Chambers, the civil authorities, the military authorities, the newspapers which circulate the most widely, and public opinion which they have poisoned. And on my side I have only an ideal of truth and justice. And I am quite easy

in mind, for I shall conquer. I did not wish my country to remain amid mendacity and injustice. You may strike me here. France will some day thank me for having helped to save her honour."

Zola remained in England a year busily at work on his novels. At length he received the news that the Dreyfus case was to be reopened. Public opinion was modified enough to allow a minister to order that the Jewish officer who had been unjustly made to bear the sins of another should have his case reconsidered. The exiled novelist recognized the change he had predicted and returned to Paris. He came not by stealth, but with an announcement in the morning paper. "I am at home," he said. "The Public Prosecutor may, therefore, signify to me whenever he pleases the sentence of the Versailles Assizes condemning me by default to a year's imprisonment and three thousand francs fine. And we shall once more find ourselves before a jury. In provoking a prosecution I only desired truth and justice. Today they are here." He was not further molested by the authorities.

Zola's battle was that of a man of mind against mediocrity. It was a keen intelligence against a stolid popular passion. "I have no political, no sectarian passions. I am a writer," he said. He judged the life around him with his reason. He saw its errors underneath its prejudices. He spoke as freely as he thought, when all the rest of the thinking world smothered its convictions because it feared to raise the storm of conflict. He spoke each day the thoughts he had in him and worked on the morrow as though the tempest did not rage. Few men have lived more bravely than he. Few of those he left behind may not read with profit and inspiration the excellent biography of which his friend and fellow-sufferer in England has given to us.\*

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\*Emile Zola, Novelist and Reformer, an Account of his Life and Work. By Ernest Alfred Vizetelly. New York: John Lane (the Bodley Head), 1904,—xviii, 560 pp.

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## Joseph Francis Bivins

JOSEPH FRANCIS BIVINS, A. M., Headmaster of Trinity Park School, and assistant editor of *THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY*, was born in Albemarle, North Carolina, May 31, 1874. He came to an early death through an accident on a railway train, September 5, 1904. He was a man of lofty purpose, a lover of truth, a diligent worker in the cause of enlightenment, a poetic champion of knightly courtesy, a faithful lover of humanity, an unyielding advocate of right ideals, a promising student of the best literature, and a model democrat. In May, 1904, he was elected assistant editor of this *QUARTERLY*, but he would not allow his name to appear in its official character on the title page of the July, 1904, number, since he had contributed but little to bringing that number out. What his modesty denied to himself, the editor, who has the best of reasons for knowing how bright a promise was defeated in that untimely death, desires, of his own free will, openly to acknowledge. The death of this man is a serious loss to this journal and through it to the periodical literature of the South.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

**PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT SOUTH.** By Edgar Gardner Murphy. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904,—x, 335 pp.

Mr. Murphy deals with the social growth of the South since the war. His purpose, in his own words, is "to contribute, from a standpoint within the life and thought of the South, to the discussion of the rise of democratic conditions in our Southern States." Undoubtedly this is a most important view of the South. The growth of democracy there, which implies the decay of aristocracy, is responsible for a great deal of both the good and the bad in our new life. It has been achieved through certain agencies, as the development of public schools, the turning of industry into new forms of activity, the elevation of the negro, and the prevalence of general ideals of equality. Of these various agencies Mr. Murphy has treated. He has approached his task as a thoughtful Southerner who desires to discover the truth. He rides no hobby. He has no preconceived opinions to defend. He merely hopes to tell about the things which exist in the South, things which he has seen with his own eyes, and proved in his own investigation. In this respect the work is well done. It will certainly seem to some people that he has not gone far enough in the way of criticism. To others it may seem that he has gone too far. But under existing circumstances he has perhaps gone as far as it is wise to go, and unquestionably he goes further than most people have gone. His observations are made with penetration. He satisfies us that his purpose is the best. He is not a critic. He rather seeks to explain and instruct. From his position as a prominent official of the "Ogden movement" for Southern education and as an educated Southerner he is in a good position to know what he is talking about from both sides of the question. His work, although it cannot be considered a thorough sociological study of the new society which has developed in the South since 1865, comes nearer being such a study than any other which has come under the reviewer's observation. It cannot fail to do good.

An illustration of Mr. Murphy's method may be seen in his treatment of the negro. In the beginning he tells us frankly that he has been obliged for lack of space to leave out chapters on "The Negro Tax and Negro School," "The South and the Amendments," and "The Broader Emancipation." But he does have a chapter on the "South and the Negro." This is a merely general view of the negro, a view of his former and present situations, and a statement of his opportunity in the South. It is satisfactory so far as it goes, and it goes as far, perhaps, as expediency demands at present. Take, for example the discussion of the negro home. It does exist, as any earnest observer of negro life in the South must know. "But one of the tragic elements of our situation lies in the fact that of this most honorable and most helpful aspect of negro life the white community, North and South, knows practically nothing. Of the destructive factors in negro life the white community hears to the uttermost, hears through the press and police court; of the constructive factors of negro progress—the negro school, the saner negro church, the negro home—the white community is in ignorance. Until it does know this aspect of our negro problem it may know more or less accurately many things about the negro; but it cannot know the negro." Is this not the mere truth? In a similar spirit of enlightenment is the allusion to lynchings, to education, to conditions of culture. The book ought to be widely read in the South.

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WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY, 1902. An Attempt at a Exhaustive Bibliography. By Ernest Cushing Richardson and Anson Ely Morse, Princeton, N. J.: The Library Book Store, 1904, —xxi., 294 pp.

This meritorious work has grown out of inquiries made among historical students by the members of the bibliographical committee of the American Historical Association. It was desired to learn what such students considered the most important bibliographical aid which could be offered to them. From many replies it was decided that the thing most needed was an annual bibliography of American history. Through the enthusiasm of Mr. Morse and under the supervision of Professor Richardson, a complete summary was made of articles on American history in

1902. Fortunately the Princeton University library has a fund given by John L. Cadwallader which can publish the bibliography. This laudable undertaking is to be continued under the supervision of Professor A. C. McLaughlin, of the Carnegie Institution.

The plan of the projectors of the work is to give an exhaustive bibliography of every book and magazine article which appeared in 1902 on the history of any part of the United States, and to give a less exhaustive treatment of the literature of British and Latin America. The titles appear in the dictionary subject form, but for the use of special students a classified index is added. Both books and magazine articles are noted, and opinions of the books are frequently given. The extensiveness of the research employed in preparing the work is seen from the fact that the data are based upon 267 periodicals. There are a few minor errors as "Supper-nong" (pp. 210 and 257)—it should be Scuppernong—and "'The Hayes,' an estate on Roanoke river." "The Hayes" is on the Albemarle sound at Edenton. The objection which some people have made to the long line and the small type is less significant than it seems, since most people who consult such a book as this will use it for only a few moments at a time, and for that period the type and line will not seriously inconvenience them. Certainly the book as it is gives great satisfaction to the students of American history. To continue it in its present form is very good.

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THE NEGRO CHURCH, A SOCIAL STUDY. Edited by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1903,—viii, 212 pp.

This is a "Report of a Social Study made under the direction of Atlanta University, together with the Proceedings of the Eighth Conference for the Study of Negro Problems, held at Atlanta University, May 26, 1903." It contains a historical review of the early religious history of the negro in America, statistical studies of the present condition of the various religious organizations among the blacks, and discussions of various features of the negro's religious life, as "Negro Laymen and the Church," "Moral Status of the Negroes," "Children and the Church," "Training of Ministers," and "Southern Whites and the Negro Church." In these discussions the editor has relied largely on

answers to questions asked of representative persons in various parts of the South. Many of these questions are printed. They constitute, so far as the reviewer can learn, the most important body of direct evidence ever published as to moral and religious conditions of our colored people. The deductions from them is that moral conditions are improving, though they are not yet nearly so good as they should be. There is a certain hopefulness in the replies of most of the Southern whites in reference to the character of the negro's church relations. In spite of a few who represent the old lack of confidence in the vitality of the negro religion, most of the correspondents express the belief that the ministers usually try to improve the life of the race, that standards of morality are being raised, that the ministers are good men, and that the general influence of the church is good.

Perhaps nothing could better indicate the development of the negro church than these words on the bishops of the African Methodist church. Says the editor: "Together the assembled bishops are perhaps the most striking body of negroes in the world in personal appearance; men of massive physique, clear cut faces and undoubted intelligence. Altogether the church has elected about thirty bishops. These men fall into about five classes. First, there were those representing the old type of negro preacher—men of little learning, honest and of fair character, capable of following other leaders. Perhaps five or six of the African Methodist Episcopal bishops have been of this type, but they have nearly all passed away. From them developed, on the one hand, four men of almost riotous energy, who by their personality thrust the church forward. While such men did much for the physical growth of the church, they were often men of questionable character, and in one or two instances ought never to have been raised to the bishopric. On the other hand, in the case of four other bishops, the goodness of the older class developed toward intense, almost æsthetic, piety, represented pre-eminently in the late Daniel Payne, a man of almost fanatical enthusiasm, of simple and pure life and unstained reputation, and of great intellectual ability. The African Methodist Episcopal church owes more to him than to any single man, and the class of bishops he represents is the very salt of the organization. Such a business plant naturally has called to the front many men of

business ability, and perhaps five bishops may be classed as financiers and overseers. The rest of the men who have sat on the bench rose for various reasons as popular leaders—by powerful preaching, by pleasing manners, by impressive personal appearance. They have usually been men of ordinary attainments, with character neither better nor worse than the middle classes of their race. Once in office they have usually grown in efficiency and character. On the whole, then, this experiment in negro government has been distinctly encouraging." Perhaps it is in such an organization as this that the negro has best shown his ability to develop a social organization.

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FORMS OF ENGLISH POETRY. By C. F. Johnson. New York: American Book Company, 1904,—368 pp.

Since Lanier's "Science of English Verse" appeared in 1880, there has been much discussion of the formal element in English poetry. Such study cannot, as Lanier said years ago, take the place of the more vital appreciation of poetry, but it may be a means to that end. Technical knowledge of metrical laws and of verse forms may not aid in the production of poetry, but it does aid the reader to appreciate the more delicate features of poetry. As Professor Johnson says, "A general knowledge of construction results not in less love, but in a more intelligent love of art."

In accordance with this idea the author has written chapters on the Ballad, the Sonnet, the Ode, Dirges and Memorial Verse, the Lyric and Song, Society Verse and the Verse of Culture, the French Forms, the Epic and the Romance. Something of the history of each form is given along with illustrations from the wide range of English poetry. The merit of the book is not in its originality or brilliancy of treatment, but in its interpretation for young people and general readers of subjects more scientifically and fully treated by Lanier, Gummere, Corson, and Alden. The ground covered is much the same as that of the latter's recently published book, "English Verse." The subject is treated in a more popular form. The book may be used to good effect in high schools and colleges.

EDWIN MIMS.



OUR LANGUAGE. By C. Alphonso Smith. Richmond, Va.: B. F. Johnson Publishing Co., 1903,—251 pp.

The last decade or two of English grammar making has been marked by a decided change in the manner of presenting the subject. Picking up a grammar of some twenty years ago one finds therein numerous paradigms to be learned by rote, cumbersome rules that taxed both the memory and patience of the young student, and numerous exceptions for many of which he could find no use in the ordinary course of conversation or writing. In short, such grammars were modeled on technical grammars of Latin and Greek, and, while valuable for reference books, were totally unfit for the presentation of the subject to a primary class.

Against this method there came a strong reaction which in the past three or four years has, unfortunately, gone as far toward the other extreme. Writers of English grammars have sometimes forgotten that a certain amount of actually hard study must be done in order to acquire a respectable knowledge of the subject. In order to make the road less steep they have made the mistake of making it too long and have thus put in a lot of superfluous matter that has served only to confuse the student without really making his task lighter. As a compromise between these two extremes there has recently grown up the idea that the ideal grammar would be one which recognizes that for young feet the steep side of the mountain must be graded, but that, on the other hand, a point may be reached in this grading where the road becomes too long for the small amount of actual climb realized. Dr. Smith's "Our Language" is, apparently, written from this standpoint and it comes nearer to meeting the requirement of this ideal than any other grammar I have seen. The inductive method has been followed throughout. First the example is given and then the student is assisted in deducing the principle therefrom, which is formulated in a simple and intelligible definition. This method serves at once to put the student into touch with good models and to impress upon him the idea that the province of the grammarian lies not in making laws for a language, but in discovering those laws according to which the language is actually spoken and written.

The order followed is significant. It begins with the paragraph

as the unit of thought, then proceeds, in order, to the sentence, the phrase, and finally to the words as parts of speech. By this method the young student of "Our Language" is not puzzled at the very outset by abstract investigations of the functions of the different parts of speech, but is inducted into this part of his subject after he has already come to feel the force of these relations in his study of the higher units in which they are involved.

E. C. PERROW.

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A BELLE OF THE FIFTIES; Memoirs of Mrs. Clay, of Alabama, 1853-'66.  
Edited by Ada Sterling. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1904,—  
xxii., 386 pp.

The lady whose recollections are recorded in this book, and who now lives at the age of nearly eighty, was, at the period which they describe, the wife of Clement C. Clay, of Alabama. This gentleman was United States senator from 1853 to 1861, Confederate States senator 1861 to 1864, and agent of the confederacy in Canada in 1864. After the war a reward for his arrest was offered by the union government, and hearing of it he gave himself up. He was quickly thrown into prison with Jefferson Davis in Fortress Monroe, and from that place he was released in 1866. It is for this period that his wife has written her memoirs. Aside from the exceptionally fine opportunity she had, as the wife of a man of great importance among the Southern leaders, to know the inside of official society in the union and confederate capitals, Mrs. Clay was a woman of great social charm. She was a popular belle and her portrait witnesses to her beauty of face and figure. She writes with ease and spirit. Her narrative is full of incident and never becomes monotonous. It is a constantly shifting panorama of social incident and comment. For political and other public affairs, however, it is not of very great service. It is evident that the narrator's interest was in the drawing-room. Of the stirring scenes of the great national decade of political excitement she gives us but little information. Like a true Southern matron she favored her husband's friends and disliked his opponents, she was loyal to her cause, and frowned upon the opposite cause, but into the great intellectual battle she did not go further. That was a field for man's activity. The narrative

she gives us is, therefore, hardly a *memoir pour servir*, but an attractive view of the social by-play which went on in connection with the great drama of strife which took place between the men of the two hostile sections. As such it is charming, true, and no one who looks for pleasure in reconstructing former social life—I mean amusements in their general form—can afford to neglect it.

J. R. ORMOND.

## MINOR REVIEWS

Under the title of "Old Voices" (Doubleday, Page & Co.,—1904), Miss Howard Weeden brings out another of her delightful books on the characteristics of the negro. Her poetry is not very striking for artistic merit, but about it there is a tone of genuineness which satisfies one's desires. The pictures of negro feeling appeal to every one. The reproductions of negro photographs are happily made and effective. The publishers have given both verses and pictures a beautiful setting and no refined person will fail to find much comfort in having the book conveniently at hand for the illumination of odd moments. In such a way it will prove as acceptable as the other books of Miss Weeden, as "Bandanna Ballads," and "Songs of the Old South," the sale of which has exceeded 10,000 copies. The spirit of "Old Voices" is expressed in the poetical dedication, which is as follows:

Here is hope for nobler things  
If such the future brings;  
But O, here's love for everything  
That long ago took wing.

To Professor William MacDonald, of Brown University, the student of American history is under obligation for another of his "Documents" series. This time it is "Select Statutes and Other Documents of the History of the United States, 1861-1898" (The Macmillan Co.,—1903). The book follows the example of others of the series, including acts of congress, proclamations of the President, amendments to the constitution, and resolutions of congress. Much of it—about three-fourths—is devoted to the period of the civil war and reconstruction. Most of the documents are given in full, and to all of them notes and references are appended by the editor. The completion of this series cannot fail to make the teaching of American history more satisfactory in both preparatory schools and colleges.

Another book which will be helpful to teachers of history is Professor D. C. Munro's "A Source Book of Roman History"

(D. C. Heath & Co.,—1904). Not having documents to quote from Professor Monroe has drawn on early Roman authorities. Thus Livy, Plutarch, Polybius, Suetonius, Pliny, Cicero, and many others have been made to yield a large number of extracts which have been arranged so as to bear on such subjects as "Sources and Credibility of Early Roman History," "Religion," "The Roman Army," "Monarchical Institutions," "Christianity and Stoicism," "Roman Life and Society," and "Provinces and Provincial Administration." Of the plan of the book it may be said that it is the best which can be followed under the circumstances; and for those teachers who consider a "Source Book" a necessity it will be a satisfactory addition to the educational literature. But it is well open to doubt if the student would not do as well, or better, to read these extracts in the original authors themselves, where he might get better acquainted with first hand Roman histories and possibly be stimulated to read them further than a short collection of extracts.

Among the recent numbers of the Gateway Series we are pleased to note the following: Shakspeare's "Macbeth," T. M. Parrott, Princeton University; Milton's "Minor Poems," Mary A. Jordan, Smith College; Addison's "Sir Roger de Coverly Papers," C. T. Winchester, Wesleyan University; Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner," G. E. Woodberry, Columbia University, and Tennyson's "Idylls of the King," Henry Van Dyke.

Particularly good is Dr. Van Dyke's edition of the "Idylls." It is a volume of one hundred and eighty-six pages bound in cloth. The three "Idylls" selected as representative and included in the book are: "Gareth and Lynette," "Lancelot and Elaine," and "The Passing of Arthur."

The introduction is most satisfactory. Not only are the subjects discussed treated in a scholarly manner, but the delightful personality of the author lurks in every line. In the introduction there is a well wrought sketch of Tennyson's life. Then comes a discussion of the Arthurian legends—their growth, how they found their way into our literature, and the use Tennyson made of the materials thus furnished him. After this comes an interpretation of the Idylls, and lastly a discussion of the verse and the verse effects. The notes are well arranged and give all the

information necessary to an intelligent reading of the poems. The more difficult words are explained in footnotes on the pages where they occur, thus saving time in turning leaves. This little volume cannot fail to commend itself to the teacher whose purpose it is to awake in young students an interest in Romantic literature.

The first report of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History has just been issued under the title, "The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi, 1904." It is edited and compiled by Mr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the department, and appears as an official octavo volume of 700 pages. The director is to be congratulated on the auspicious beginning of his series of publications. He has wrought well and patiently. He has given us much information in regard (a) to the constitutions and organic law of his State, (b) its outline history, (c) the personnel of its officers, (d) its public institutions, and (e) the history of its capitol buildings. The text is illustrated with many excellent portraits and sketches. The student of Mississippi history will find the work one of great service and a source of constant reference.

Professor Edward G. Bourne's translation of the chapter in Roscher's *Kolonien* on "The Spanish Colonial System" (H. Holt & Co.) is timely and valuable. The priority of the Spaniards in American colonization made them the pioneers in building the American colonial system. In spite of the English antipathy for everything Spanish, the experiments of that people had an important influence in the organization of the first Anglo-American settlements. They could not choose but take some of their ideas from the West Indies. But aside from this fact, the subject is worthy of investigation both for purposes of comparative study and for the culturaleffect it has in giving an enquirer a mastery of a most interesting phase of American history; for as we progress in knowledge and the spirit of liberalism we come more and more to feel a desire to know the things which have for a long time been out of the immediate circle of our American interest. It is worth while, in this connection, to remind the reader that Professor Bourne suggests that other good sources of information about the Spanish colonial system are the eighth book of Robertson's "History of America," especially the notes, H. H. Bancroft's

"Central America and Mexico," and Häbler's chapters on the "Spanish Colonial Empire" in Helmolt's "History of the World."

The American Book Company has put into one volume the English classics required for admission into nearly all American colleges—those, rather, that are to be studied carefully in the class. It is a good idea for both teachers and students to have them all in the compass of a single volume. Necessarily the notes are few and the introductions short, but they are sufficient to explain all difficult points and fortunately leave the capable teacher more margin in which to work. One of the worst tendencies in the editing of these classics has been the overloading of them with notes that are for the teacher rather than the student. The feature of this volume is some eminently wise suggestions as to the study of Shakspeare by Professor Baker, of Columbia.

A volume of autumn verse which ought not to be neglected by the poetry-loving public is Mr. J. R. Newell's "Poems and Songs" (R. C. Badger, Boston). It contains many patriotic poems on subjects relating to Canada and the empire of which Canada is a part. Much of it has been called out by incidents connected with the Boer war. The spirit is that of a bluff John Bull; the movement is more hearty than elegant; and the general impression left on the mind of the reader is that of facile pessimism. But there are not a few lines which give real pleasure and fewer still which have not a genuine ring.

Mr. William A. Kirk's "Fleeting Fancies" (R. C. Badger, Boston) have neither dignity nor sublimity; but they are not written with the purpose that they should have them. They are the jolly verses of thoughtlessness. They do not hold one by their correct sentiment; but the tone of human gaiety in them will arrest the attention where many another more conventional serious product would be passed over with indifference.

In Elizabeth Porter Gould's "One's Self I Sing" (R. C. Badger, Boston) there is no firm touch of true poetry. The impression one gets is words without harmony and sentiment without dignity. The dullness of the pages is only relieved by occasional touches of cleverness which makes one loath to give the book a

wholesale condemnation. If such touches were but more numerous we might modify our judgment; but it is only fair to say that they are not enough to relieve the effect of heavy wordiness which comes from hundreds of commonplace lines.

Like the above, although the quantity is not so great, is a thin volume by E. A. Kimball which salutes the public under the title "Pebbles from the Shore" (R. C. Badger, Boston). Neither the sentiment nor the artistic execution challenges our admiration.



## Index of Volume III.

- Academic Freedom at Trinity College, 62.  
 Acadie, 275, 276.  
 Adams, H. C., 98.  
 Admission Requirements in English, 395.  
 Africa, The Negro in, 99.  
 Alabama, *Industrial Development in During the Civil War*, by WALTER L. FLEMING, 260.  
 Allan, Elizabeth P., "Life and Letters of Margaret J. Preston," Review of, 89.  
 Allen, James Lane, 286.  
 America in Literature, by EDWIN MIMS, 182.  
 "America in Literature," by George B. Woodberry, Review of, 182.  
 "American Advance, The," by E. J. Carpenter, Review of, 190.  
 "American Railway Transportation," by Emory R. Johnson, Review of, 94.  
 "Ancient Mariner, The," 393.  
 Archive, *The Trinity*, 68.  
 Armstrong, General S. C., 203.  
 Author's Fight for His Opinions, An, by JOHN RAPER ORMOND, 377.  
 Banking, 99.  
 BANKS, ENOCH MARVIN, *Tendencies Among Georgia Farmers*, 109.  
 BASSETT, JOHN SPENCER, *The Negro's Inheritance from Africa*, 99.  
 ———, *The Task of the Critic*, 299.  
 ———, *A Revival of Interest in North Carolina History*, 370.  
 ———, *Joseph Francis Bivins*, 383.  
 ———, Reviews by—Brown, "The Foe of Compromise," 91; Washington and Others, "The Negro Problem," 95; Hautrey, "The Life of Saint Mary Magdalen," 96; Smith, "South Carolina as a Royal Province," 186; Cabell, "The Thoughtless Thoughts of Carisabel," 188; Carpenter, "The American Advance," 190; Tompkins, "The History of Mecklenburg County," 193, 375; "Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society," 195; Watson, "The Life and Times of Jefferson," 294; Dodd, "Life of Nathaniel Macon," 372; Raper, "North Carolina," 372; Haywood, "Governor William Tryon," 373; Graham, "General Joseph B. Graham," 374; Clewell, "The History of Wachovia," 374; Murphy, "Problems of the Present South," 384; Richardson and Moræ, "Writings on American History—1902," 385; DuBois, Editor, "The Negro Church," 386.  
 ——— and Academic Liberty at Trinity College, 62.  
 "Belle of the Fifties, A," by Mrs. C. C. Clay, Review of, 390.  
 BENJAMIN, MARCUS, *John Henry Boner*, 166.  
 Bivins, *Joseph Francis*, 383.  
 ———, Reviews by—Wildman, "A Hill Prayer," 295; Minot, "The Rose of Old Seville," 296; Wetherald, "The Radiant Road," 297.  
 Bolles, A. S., 99.  
 Boner, *John Henry*, by MARCUS BENJAMIN, 166.  
 Book Reviews, 86, 186, 290, 384.  
 Bourne, Edward G., 394.  
 BOWEN, EDWIN W., *George Eliot as a Prose Artist*, 73.  
 BOYD, WILLIAM KENNETH, *The Christian Persecutions and Roman Jurisprudence*, 52.  
 ———, *Theodore Mommsen, His Place in Modern Scholarship*, 212.  
 "Bridgman, Laura," by Maude Howe and Florence Howe Hall, Review of, 88.  
 BROWN, WILLIAM GARROTT, *Senator Hoar's Reminiscences*, 251.  
 ———, "The Foe of Compromise," Review of, 91.  
 Burgess, J. W., 199.  
 Cabell, Isa Carrington, "The Thoughtless Thoughts of Carisabel," Review of, 188.

- California, Political Nominations in, 139.
- Carpenter, Edmund J., "The American Advance," Review of, 190.
- Child Labor Laws, 199.
- Charity Work, 98.
- Christian Persecutions and Roman Jurisprudence*, by WILLIAM KENNETH BOYD, 52.
- "Circle Within the Square, The," by Baldwin Sears, Review of, 289.
- Civilization and the Postoffice*, by BRENT MOORE, 254.
- CLARK, THOMAS H., *Frederick Law Olmsted on the South, 1889*, 11.
- Clarke, Albert N., 98.
- Clay, Mrs. C. C., "A Belle of the Fifties," Review of, 390.
- Clewell, J. H., "History of Wachovia," Review of, 374.
- Colleges in the South, 208.
- Colonial System, The Spanish, 394.
- Commerce, Confederate, 260.
- "Commerce, Geography of," 98.
- Confederate States, Manufacturing in the, 260; Trade of, 260; Navy Yards of, 262.
- Conservatism and Progress in the Cotton Belt*, by ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS, 1.
- Connecticut and the New England Confederation, 273, 348.
- Costly Pension Law, A*, by WILLIAM H. GLASSON, 361.
- Cotton Belt, Conservatism and Progress in the*, by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, 1.
- CRANFORD, WILLIAM IVEY, *Herbert Spencer and His Work*, 123.
- Critic, The Task of the*, by THE EDITOR, 297.
- Cromwell, Oliver, 353, 354.
- "Dabny, Robert L., Life and Letters of," by T. C. Johnson, Review of, 292.
- "Dante's Inferno, An Introduction to," by A. T. Ennis, 293.
- Davis, Jefferson, 48.
- DAVIS, SALLIE JOYNER, *North Carolina's Part in the Revolution*, 27, 154.
- Decline of Self-Ownership, The*, by FRANK C. WOODWARD, 313.
- "Deliverance, The," by Ellen Glasgow, Review of, 288.
- Disabilities, Civil and Political, The Removal of, 39.
- DODD, WILLIAM E., *Some Difficulties of the History Teacher in the South*, 117.
- , "Life of Nathaniel Macon," Review of, 372.
- , Criticism on, 297.
- Dreyfus Affair, 380, 381, 382.
- DuBois, W. E. B., Editor, "The Negro Church," Review of, 386.
- Education in the South, 201.
- Educational Significance of Modern Language Study in the Secondary Schools*, by JOHN CHRISTIAN RANSMEIER, 239, 327.
- Education, Modern Language Study, 239, 327.
- Eliot, George, as a Prose Artist*, by EDWIN W. BOWEN, 73.
- Eliot, George, 124.
- Ellwood, Charles A., 98, 290.
- Elwang, W. W., "The Negro of Columbia, Missouri," 290.
- Ennis, A. T., "An Introduction to the Study of Dante," Review of, 293.
- Farming in the South, 109.
- Father Louis Hennepin*, by JOHN RAPER ORMOND, 175.
- FEW, W. P., *Some Educational Needs of the South*, 201.
- Fiction, Southern, 275.
- Finance, 99.
- FLEMING, WALTER L., *Industrial Development in Alabama During the Civil War*.
- , Editor of Reprints, 199.
- Flowers, R. L., Review of Hobson, "In Old Alabama," 196.
- "Foe of Compromise, The," by W. G. Brown, Review of, 91.
- Ford, Worthington C., 198.
- "Forms of English Poetry," by C. F. Johnson, Review of, 388.
- Frederick Law Olmsted on the South, 1889*, by THOMAS H. CLARK, 11.
- French in Canada, The, 275, 276.
- French Language, The Study of, 239, 327.
- Garner, J. W., 200.
- "Gateway Series, The," Edited by Henry Van Dyke, Review of, 98, 291, 293.
- General Education Board, The, 206.
- "Geography of Commerce," 98.

- Georgia Farmers, Tendencies Among*, by ENOCH MARVIN BANKS, 109.
- Georgia, Negroes in, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309.
- "Germany, Great Britain, and the United States," 199.
- "German Judiciary, The," 200.
- German Language Study, 239, 327.
- Glasgow, Ellen, "The Deliverance," Review of, 288.
- GLASSON, WILLIAM H., *A Costly Pension Law—Act of June 27, 1890*, 361.
- , Reviews by—Howe and Hall, "Laura Bridgman," 88; Kelly, "Government or Human Evolution," 92; Johnson, "American Railway Transportation," 94; Montague, "The Rise and Progress of the Standard Oil Company," 96; Wallace, "Man's Place in the Universe," 191; Hatfield, "Lectures on Commerce," 194; Elwood and Elwang, "The Negroes of Columbia, Missouri," 290.
- "Graham, General Joseph B., and His Papers," by Maj. W. A. Graham, Review of, 374.
- Graham, Maj. W. A., "General Joseph B. Graham and His Papers," Review of, 374.
- Goldmark, Josephine C., 199.
- Gordon, General J. B., "Reminiscences of the Civil War," Review of, 187.
- Gould, Elizabeth Porter, "One's Self I Sing," Review of, 395.
- "Government or Human Evolution," by Edmond Kelly, Review of, 92.
- Hall, Florence Howe, and Maud Howe, "Laura Bridgman," Review of, 88.
- HAMILTON, J. G. DER., *The Removal of Civil and Political Disabilities*, 39.
- Harper's Weekly, 43, 44, 46.
- Harris, Joel Chandler, 285.
- Harrison, James A., "The Life and Letters of E. A. Poe," Review of, 93.
- Hatfield, H. R., "Lectures on Commerce," Review of, 194.
- Hautrey, Valentina, "The Life of Saint Mary Magdalen," Review of, 96.
- "Hawthorne and His Circle," by Julian Hawthorne, Review of, 192.
- Hawthorne, Julian, "Hawthorne and His Circle," Review of, 92.
- Haywood, M. DeL., "Governor William Tryon," Review of, 373.
- Henderson, C. R., 98.
- Hennepin, *Father Louis, Explorer*, by JOHN RAPER ORMOND, 175.
- "Hill Prayer, The, and Other Poems," by M. W. Wildman, Review of, 295.
- "History of Mecklenburg County," by D. A. Tompkins, Review of, 193.
- Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," Review of, 251.
- Hobson, Anne, "In Old Alabama," Review of, 196.
- HODGE, HELEN HENRY, *Massachusetts and the New England Confederation*, 273, 349.
- HOLLIDAY, CARL, *National Supervision of Negro Education*, 356.
- Howe, Maud, and Florence Howe Hall, "Laura Bridgman," Review of, 88.
- Huxley, Thomas, 124, 125.
- "Idyls of the King," 393.
- Illinois, Political Nominations in, 139, 140.
- "In Old Alabama," by Anne Hobson, Review of, 196.
- "In the Red Hills," by E. C. McCants, Review of, 289.
- Indiana, Political Nominations in, 140, 141.
- Industrial Development in Alabama During the Civil War*, by WALTER L. FLEMING, 260.
- Ingle, Rt. Rev. James Addison, 150.
- "Introduction to Dante's Inferno," by A. T. Ennis, Review of, 293.
- Iowa, Political Nominations in, 141.
- "Jefferson, Life and Times of," by Thomas E. Watson, Review of, 294.
- Johnson, C. F., "Forms of English Poetry," Review of, 388.
- Johnson, Emory A., "American Railway Transportation," Review of, 94.
- Johnson, Thomas C., "Life and Letters of R. L. Dabney," Review of, 292.

- Kant, 134.  
 Kelly, Edmond, "Government or Human Evolution," Review of, 92.  
 KELSEY, CARL, *A Plea for Light*, 302.  
 —, "The Negro Farmer," 198.  
 Kimball, E. A., "Pebbles from the Shore," 396.  
 Kirk, William A., "Fleeting Fancies," 395.  
 Language, Modern, Study of, 239, 327.  
 "Lectures on Commerce," by H. R. Hatfield, Review of, 194.  
 Lewes, George Henry, 125.  
 Libraries in Wisconsin, 16; Traveling, 18.  
 "Life and Letters of E. A. Poe," by J. A. Harrison, Review of, 93.  
 "Life and Letters of Robert L. Dabney," by T. C. Johnson, Review of, 292.  
 "Life and Times of Jefferson," by Thomas E. Watson, Review of, 294.  
 "Life of Saint Mary Magdalen," by V. Hautrey, Review of, 96.  
 "Literary Guillotine, The," Review of, 197.  
 Literary Notes, 98, 198.  
 LUETSCHER, GEORGE D., *Recent Tendencies in Methods of Making Political Nominations*, 137.  
 "Macbeth," 393.  
 McCants, E. C., "In the Red Hills," Review of, 289.  
 MacDonald, William, 392.  
 "Macon, Nathaniel, Life of," by W. E. Dodd, Review of, 372.  
 "Man's Place in the Universe," by A. R. Wallace, Review of, 191.  
 Manufacturing in the Confederate States, 260.  
 Marion, General Francis, on Education, 205.  
 Marshall, John, Correspondence of, 121.  
 "Mary Magdalen, Saint, Life of," by V. Hautrey, Review of, 96.  
 Maryland, Political Nominations in, 139, 140; in the Revolution, 232; "Archives," 233.  
*Maryland in the Revolution*, by BERNARD C. STEINER, 232.  
*Massachusetts and the New England Confederation*, by HELEN HENRY HOGDE, 273, 349.  
 Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings of, 198.  
 Massachusetts, Political Nominations in, 141.  
 Mecklenburg County (N. C.), History of, 193, 375; "Declaration of Independence," 194, 373, 375.  
 "Mecklenburg County, History of," by D. A. Tompkins, Review of, 193, 375.  
 Michigan, Political Nominations in, 140, 141.  
 "Milton's Minor Poems," 393.  
 Mims, EDWIN, *America in Literature*, 182.  
 —, Carlyle's "Essay on Burns," 98, 291.  
 —, Reviews by—Allan, "Life of Margaret J. Preston," 89; Harrison, "Life and Letters of E. A. Poe," 93; Hawthorne, "Hawthorne and His Friends," 192; Johnson, "Life and Letters of R. L. Dabney," 292; Johnson, "Forms of English Poetry," 388.  
 Minnesota, Political Nominations in, 140, 146.  
 Minor Reviews, 392.  
 Minot, Elizabeth, "The Rose of Old Seville," Review of, 296.  
 Mississippi, Political Nominations in, 141, 143; First Report of Department of Archives and History, 394.  
 Missouri, Political Nominations in, 139, 140; Negroes in Columbia, 290.  
 Mommsen, Theodore, *His Place in Modern Scholarship*, by WILLIAM KENNETH BOYD, 212.  
 Money, 99.  
 Montague, G. H., "The Rise and Progress of the Standard Oil Company," Review of, 96.  
 MOORE, BRENT, *Civilization and the Postoffice*, 254.  
 Morse, A. E., and Richardson, E. C., "Writings on American History, 1902," Review of, 385.  
 Muensterberg, Emil, 98.  
 Munro, D. C., 392.  
 Murphy, Edgar Gardner, "The Problems of the Present South," Review of, 384.

- Nation, The, 41, 48.  
*National Supervision of Negro Education*, by CARL HOLLIDAY, 356.  
 Negro, As a Farmer, 198; Education, 356; Problems of, 302; In Africa, 99; in the South, 385; Religion of, 386.  
*Negro's Inheritance from Africa, The*, by THE EDITOR, 99.  
 "Negro Problem, The," by B. T. Washington and Others, Review of, 95.  
 "Negro Church, The," by W. E. B. DuBois, Editor, 386.  
 "Negroes of Columbia, Missouri," by W. W. Elwang, Review of, 290.  
*New England Confederation, Massachusetts and*, by HELEN HENRY HODGE, 273, 349.  
 New Haven and the New England Confederation, 273, 349.  
 New Jersey, Political Nominations in, 139, 140, 143.  
 New Netherlands, 276, 277, 278, 349, 350, 351, 354.  
 New York, Political Nominations in, 138, 140.  
 Newell, J. R., "Poems and Songs," 395.  
 Nitre Works in the Confederate States, 263.  
 Nominations, Political, 137.  
*North Carolina's Part in the Revolution, II. and III.*, by SALLIE JOYNER DAVIS, 27, 154.  
*North Carolina History, a Revival of Interest in*, 370.  
 "North Carolina," by C. L. Raper, Review of, 372.  
 North Carolina Colonial Records, 370, 371.  
 "Old Voices," 392.  
 Olmsted, Frederick Law, 11; Letter from, 13.  
 Oregon, Political Nominations in, 146, 147.  
 ORMOND, JOHN RAPER, *Father Louis Hennepin, Explorer*, 175.  
 —, *Some Recent Products of the New School of Southern Fiction*, 285.  
 —, *An Author's Fight for His Opinions*, 377.  
 —, Reviews by—Gordon, "Reminiscences of the Civil War," 187; "The Literary Guillotine," 197; Glasgow, "The Deliverance," 288; McCanta, "In the Red Hills," 289; Sears, "The Circle Within the Square," 289; Clay, "A Belle of the Fifties," 390.  
 "Our Language," by C. Alphonso Smith, Review of, 389.  
 Page, Thomas Nelson, 285.  
 Painter, F. V. N., "Poets of the South," Review of, 189.  
 Pensions, Law of 1890, 361.  
 PEPPLER, CHARLES W., *The Persians of Timotheus*, 221.  
 PERROW, E. C., Reviews by—Painter, "Poets of the South," 189; Van Dyke, "The Gateway Series," 291; Smith, "Our Language," 389.  
*Persians of Timotheus*, by CHARLES W. PEPPLER, 221.  
 PHILLIPS, ULRICH BONNELL, *Progress and Conservatism in the Cotton-Belt*, 1.  
*Plea for Light, A*, by CARL KELSEY, 302.  
 Plymouth Colony and the New England Confederation, 273, 349.  
 Poe, Edgar Allen, Life of, 93.  
*Poetry of Bayard Taylor—An Appreciation*, by EDWARD REINHOLD ROGERS, 343.  
 "Poets of the South," by F. V. N. Painter, Review of, 189.  
 Pennsylvania, Political Nominations in, 144, 148.  
 Postoffice, Growth of the, 254.  
*Postoffice, Civilization and the*, by BRENT MOORE, 254.  
 "Preston, Margaret J., Life of," by E. P. Allan, Review of, 89.  
 "Problems of the Present South," by Edgar Gardner Murphy, Review of, 384.  
 "Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society," Review of, 195.  
 Public Schools, 206.  
 "Radiant Road, The," by Wetherald, Review of, 297.  
 Railroads, Works on, 94, 98; in the Confederate States, 264.  
 Rams, Confederate, 261, 262.  
 RANSMEIER, JOHN CHRISTIAN, *The Educational Significance of Modern Language Study*, 239, 327.  
 Raper, Charles L., "North Carolina," Review of, 372.

- Recent Tendencies in Methods of Making Political Nominations*, by GEORGE D. LUETSCHER, 137.
- Reconstruction, 39; Documents Relating to, 199.
- "Reminiscences of the Civil War," by General J. B. Gordon, Review of, 187.
- Removals of Legal and Political Disabilities*, by J. G. DE R. HAMILTON, 39.
- Revival of Interest in North Carolina History, A*, by THE EDITOR, 370.
- Revolution, Maryland in, 232; in North Carolina, 27, 154.
- Richardson, E. C., and Morse, A. E., "Writings in American History, 1902," Review of, 385.
- Rile, Francis L., Editor, "Mississippi Historical Society Publications, Review of, 195.
- "Rise and Progress of the Standard Oil Co., The," by G. H. Montague, Review of, 96.
- ROGERS, EDWARD REINHOLD, *The Poetry of Bayard Taylor—An Appreciation*, 343.
- "Roman History, A Source Book of," by D. C. Munro, Review of, 392.
- Roman Jurisprudence, 52.
- "Rose of Old Seville, A," by Elizabeth Minot, Review of, 296.
- Rougon-Macquart Novels, 378, 379.
- Rowland, Dunbar, 394.
- Salamis, Battle of, 224.
- Salt-making in the Confederate States, 268.
- Saunders, William L., 370.
- Schurz, Carl, 39.
- Seager, Henry R., 99.
- Sears, Baldwin, "The Circle in the Square," Review of, 289.
- "Select Statutes of United States History," 392.
- Self-Ownership, The Decline of*, by FRANK C. WOODWARD, 313.
- Senator Hoar's Reminiscences*, by WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN, 251.
- "Sir Roger De Coverly Papers," 393.
- Slavery in the South, 3.
- Smith, C. A., "Our Language," Review of, 389.
- SMITH, CHARLES FORSTER, *Wisconsin Libraries*, 16.
- Smith, W. Roy, "South Carolina as a Royal Province," Review of, 186.
- Some Difficulties of the History Teacher in the South*, by WILLIAM E. DODD, 117.
- Some Educational Needs of the South*, by W. P. FEW, 201.
- Some Recent Products of the New School of Southern Fiction*, by JOHN RAPER ORMOND, 285.
- South, Agriculture in, 109; Educational Needs, 201; Education in, 356; History Teaching in, 117; Libraries in, 121; Literature in, 119, 120, 145, 285; New Life in, 309; "Problems of the Present," by E. G. Murphy, Review of, 384.
- "South Carolina as a Royal Province," by W. Roy Smith, Review of, 186.
- Southern Education Board, 206.
- Southern Fiction, 285.
- "Spanish Colonial System, The," 394.
- Spencer, Herbert, and *His Work*, by WILLIAM IVEY CRANFORD, 123.
- Standard Oil Company, History of, 96.
- STEINER, BERNARD C., *Yin-Teh-Sen*, 150.
- , Maryland in the Revolution, 232.
- Stuyvesant, Peter, 277, 278.
- Sykes, Madeleine W., 199.
- Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 275.
- Task of the Critic, The*, by THE EDITOR, 297.
- Taylor, Bayard, The Poetry of—An Appreciation*, by EDWARD REINHOLD ROGERS, 243.
- Tendencies Among Georgia Farmers*, by ENOCH MARVIN BANKS, 109.
- Thilly, Frank, 98.
- "Thoughtless Thoughts of Carisabel," by Isa C. Cabell, Review of, 188.
- Tilden, John N., 98.
- Timotheus, The Persians of*, by CHARLES W. PEPPLER, 221.
- Tompkins, D. A., "History of Mecklenburg County," Review of, 193, 375.
- Trade in the Confederate States, 260.

- Trinity College and Academic Library, 62.  
 —, Editorial in *The Archive* in regard to Professor Bassett, 68; Memorial of Faculty in regard to Professor Bassett, 65; Resolutions of Trustees in regard to Professor Bassett, 62.  
 "Tryon, Governor William," by Marshall DeL. Haywood, Review of, 373.  
 Van Dyke, Henry, "The Gateway Series," Review of, 98, 291, 293.  
 —, Editor, "Idyls of the King," 393.  
 "Wachovia, History of," by J. H. Clewell, Review of, 374.  
 Wallace, Alfred Russel, "Man's Place in the Universe," Review of, 191.  
 Washington, Booker T., and Others, "The Negro Problem," Review of, 95.  
 Watson, Thomas E., "Life and Times of Jefferson," Review of, 204.  
 Webb, A. M., Review by—Eunis, "Introduction to Dante's Inferno," 293.  
 Weeden, Howard, "Old Voices," 392.  
 West Virginia University, Reprints on Reconstruction, 199.  
 Wetherald, Ethelwyn, "The Radiant Road," 297.  
 "Whispering Pines," 169.  
 Wildman, Marion Warner, "A Hill Prayer," Review of, 295.  
*Wisconsin Libraries*, by CHARLES FORSTER SMITH, 16.  
 Wisconsin, Political Nominations in, 141, 146.  
 Woodbury, George B., "America in Literature," Review of, 182.  
 WOODWARD, FRANK C., *The Decline of Self-Ownership*, 313.  
 "Writings on American History, 1902," by E. C. Richardson and A. E. Morse, Review of, 385.  
*Yin-Teh-Sen*, by BERNARD C. STEINER, 150.  
 Youmans, Edward L., 128.  
 Zola, Struggles of, 377.

END OF VOLUME III.





